

*Pages
French
Revolution* 712. L 44.

Anti-Revolutionary Thoughts

OF A

Revolutionary Writer:

FROM

*"The Secret History of the Revolution
of France,"*

BY

Monsieur François Pages.

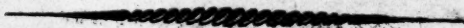


Quò, quò scelesti ruitis?

HORACE.

Tanta vis morbi, atque uti tabes plerosque civium animos invaserat,

SALLUST.



Salisbury:

PRINTED FOR (AND BY) J. EASTON, HIGH-STREET;

AND

J. WRIGHT, PICCADILLY, LONDON.



1800.

[Price Three Shillings.]

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TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM PITT,

FIRST LORD COMMISSIONER OF THE TREASURY,

&c. &c. &c.

BY THE INTEGRITY AND VIGILANCE OF WHOSE
ADMINISTRATION, CALAMITIES, SIMILAR TO THOSE
HEREIN MENTIONED, HAVE PROVIDENTIALLY BEEN
AVERTED FROM ENGLAND, THE FOLLOWING
SHEETS ARE MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED, AS A
FEEBLE TRIBUTE OF NATIONAL GRATITUDE,

BY A

WELL WISHER OF HIS COUNTRY.

TO THE

HONOURABLE

WILLIAM PITT

CHIEF SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

IN ANSWER TO A RESOLUTION OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS
PASSED IN APRIL 1791, RELATIVE TO THE
MISMANAGEMENT OF THE NATIONAL DEBT
AND THE CONDUCT OF THE NATIONAL DEBT OFFICE
IN THE YEAR 1790

BY WILLIAM PITT

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INTRODUCTION.



THAT a great nation should be induced by the intrigues of aspiring individuals to throw off the restraint of law, that *link which connects the loose multitude*; and should fall a victim to every deception, by which artful ambition can practise on popular credulity; is an event, in the contemplation of which, horror, pity, indignation and contempt, alternately take possession of the mind: and, whether we consider the crimes, or commiserate the sufferings of France, it remains equally difficult to determine, if the people of that country are more atrocious than they are deluded; or their leaders more flagitious than they are futile. To a per-

son impressed with these sentiments, it will be readily conceived, that the perusal of a work, entitled, *The Secret History of the Revolution of France*, could not afford matter of great entertainment. However, chance having put the book into our hands, and it being known to us that the Author, who some years ago published an Account of his Travels round the World,* had acquired reputation as a man of considerable talents and information, we were induced to read the work; and found, that the reasonings it contained offered a corollary of a nature entirely different from that, which might be expected, or that which Mr. Pagès intended should be drawn from it.

The Reader must not expect to find in these sheets a narrative of the French revolutions, or a regular rehearsal of a succession of events, all which are traced in characters of blood, and marked with the type of folly;—that is not the object of the following publication. It would be needless to call over anew the melancholy and nauseous body of evidence, on which

* *Travels round the World in the Years 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 2 vol.*

Europe has had but too much reason to found its opinion, respecting the series of revolutions, which have succeeded each other in France since the year 1789:—the testimony of facts is sufficient. But were it not; we should decline passing any strictures on a subject, which has been treated in so brilliant and masterly a manner by some of the ablest pens in this country. It may not, however, be uninteresting to the Reader, if we bring under his eye the testimony in *foro conscientiae* of Mr. Pagès, an ardent devotee to French revolutionary principles;—one, who, while under the influence of rapturous enthusiasm, nay, in the middle of a climax of democratic rant, that turgid eloquence of the modern Parisian school, appears at times, as if the spirit of truth inspired him; and like Balaam, who blessed those he came to curse, reprobates his countrymen, whom it was his intention to approve.

It is to this man, in whom force of conscience overcomes at times the starts of fanaticism, that we beg to call the attention of a particular part of our Readers. They may fondly dwell,

if they please, on such congenial passages as
 this: "Thence sprang, without chief, without
 "project, by the force alone of circumstances,
 "the most incredible and astonishing of revo-
 "lutions; a revolution, fertile of political won-
 "ders;—a revolution, which, sooner or later,
 "will change the whole face of the globe;
 "will accelerate the establishment of freedom
 "in Asia; expel the English from India; pro-
 "duce the regeneration of Mussulmans; un-
 "rivet the fetters of the wretched inhabitants
 "of Africa, whom, with merciless and tedious
 "sufferings, we consume at the foot of the
 "sugar-cane, only because their complexion is
 "black; which will liberate the Indians, both
 "of Peru and Mexico; and penetrate as far as
 "the extreme limits of Chili and Terra di
 "Fuoco."—Let them afterwards peruse the
 following *Thoughts of the same Author*; nor
 wonder if we ask them, "know ye your son's
 "tunic?"

The vaulting style of eloquence (the offspring
 of an inflamed imagination) which now pre-
 vails in France, will spare us, we should hope,
 the

the censure of our Reader, if a want of simplicity appear in the diction of the preceding passage, or in that of any of the other quotations, which form the following work. We have endeavoured to soften the touches of the Author, wherever it seemed possible to do it, without deviating too widely from his text; but the modern French language takes frequently so great a latitude of expression, that it becomes often difficult to follow its flights, and sometimes indeed all translation is set wholly at defiance.—Depravity of taste in literature can, however, only be ranked among the *nugæ* of a revolution, in which depravity of morals, manners, and notions combine to convulse and disgrace the country. Had the infatuation of France hurried her into no greater errors, than such as it had been the province of sobered judgment, returning into its natural course, easily to redress; then she had not fostered, as a source of immunity to her excesses, licentious principles, subversive of that liberty, which she professed to worship; then had not the most valuable rights of nations been trampled under foot by rapacious individuals; Europe had not been deluged

laged in gore; and the history of mankind had not been blurred with the record of the most artful course of villainy on the part of the leaders of faction, and of the most brute and stupid compliance on that of the duped multitude that ever disgraced society.

By the immediate operation of comparison, which takes place in the mind on the viewing of contrasting objects, we are naturally led from the consideration of the calamitous condition of France to the contemplation of the prosperous state of England; that island, which in the midst of the agitation of Europe, lifts her bold head above the storm, and defies its fury;—that country, powerful in herself, but whose principal strength, in the conjuncture of this day, is derived from the energy of the present government. Here the great obligations which England owes to Mr. Pitt present themselves before us. The time will come, when in the cool and impartial page of history it will be seen, with astonishment, that although in Europe the most complicated course of politics that ever embroiled the interests of nations, and
at

at home the most ambitious and giddy faction that ever sought to hamper the wheels of government, have respectively occurred under the administration of Mr. Pitt; yet his well directed exertions and steady zeal for the public welfare, have not only delivered this country from the very jaws of destruction, but have raised it to a state of prosperity, wealth, and national consequence, unprecedented in the British annals. If Junius at a former period admitted his readiness to suppose, "that in
 "public affairs it would have been impossible
 "to desert or betray Lord Chatham, without
 "doing an essential injury to this country;" how well are we authorised by the circumstances of the present time to say the same, and yet more, in regard to Mr. Pitt!

But to revert to the subject of the following sheets.—

The History of the Revolutions of France, written by Mr. Pagès,* from which the passages,

* *Histoire Secrète de la Revolution Française, Depuis la Convocation des Notables jusqu'à ce Jour (Novembre 1, 1796,) contenant une foule de Particularités peu connues, et des Extraits de tout ce qui a paru de plus curieux sur notre Revolution, tant en France qu'en Allemagne et en Angleterre. Par François Pagès.*

here

here offered to the public, are collected, is in two Volumes Octavo, printed at Paris in 1797; and commences with the assembling of the states general, the *discordia semina rerum*, in the year 1789. In the title of the work, Mr. Pagès announces that he extends his narrative no farther than the first of November 1796 (fourth year); which period embraces the sanguinary events of the thirteenth and fourteenth Vendémiaire, or twelfth revolution: but it will be seen in the course of the following sheets, that he afterwards treats of events subsequent to that time, and that he gives an account of the conspiracy of Babœuf in Floreal, and of the insurrection and attack on the camp of Grenelle in Fructidor, in the fifth year.

Under the head of first revolution, fourteenth of July 1789, (the epocha of the siege of the bastille) we have classed the matter incident to that part of the history. The remainder follows in seriating order, under the respective heads of the successive revolutions. We have subjoined, occasionally, Notes, mostly explanatory, where we thought them necessary to the Reader's

Reader's being informed of the progress of public affairs, when the detail of incidents was uninteresting, and yet, without the knowledge of their consequences, the thread of the story would be lost, and the reflections would present themselves in a state of confusion.

Twelve revolutions within the space of only seven years: such is the eventful history now before us! such the foundation, on which treaties during that period between this country and France could have been established! Among the commotions which have taken place since the year 1796, and which do not come under our present consideration, is the last and not least heterogeneous revolution, effected at the point of the bayonet by a *Corfican adventurer*! Whether the foundation for treaty has derived solidity from the circumstance of *Bonaparte* having usurped the sovereign power;—his conduct with respect to the Cisalpine Republic, to Venice, to Naples, to Tuscany, &c. &c., not to mention his transactions in Egypt, constitute a criterion, by which our judgment can hardly be

be misled.—Besides; we might say with the poet Waller,

“What use of oaths, of promise, or of test,
“Where men regard no God but interest?”

Although the usurpation of Bonaparte does not properly come within the limits of this Introduction; yet we cannot refrain from observing, that, for two reasons this man appears to form an enemy, if possible, more mischievous to the welfare of France, and to the interests of Europe in general, than perhaps any of his Jacobin fore-runners. First; he unites in his nature all the ambition, cruelty, hypocrisy, which constituted the characteristic of the several tyrants who preceded him; with more craftiness to conceal, and more boldness to discover their workings, as occasion should require. Secondly; every scattered particle of Jacobin-spirit is now as it were concentrated; and the people, harrassed with past sufferings, and dreading to incur severer ones by resistance, are forced to stoop under the present yoke. The reasoning which influences the conduct of the French nation at this time reminds us of that,

that, which guided the Old Woman; who, when Dionysius, hearing that she prayed for the preservation of his life, asked her why she did so, replied, “ I have seen the death of several tyrants, and the successor was always worse than the former: then camest thou, worse than all the rest; and if thou wert gone, I fear what would become of us, if we should have a worse still.” It is this mode of reasoning, no doubt, that with the French nation at large proves a motive to a temporary compliance with circumstances. But it belongs not to us, nor would it indeed be possible, to calculate the chances, which may ultimately determine the fate of that *gens nata in vanos tumultus*: and as for Bonaparte;—whether his fate, in its vicissitudes, shall resemble that of *Tahmas Kouli Khan*, or *Tippoo Saib*, it matters not we form a conjecture; while we have the satisfactory conviction that on the firmness only, which directs the present counsels of the British cabinet, depend the safety, liberty, and peace of England and the civilized world.

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Anti-Revolutionary Thoughts,

OF A

Revolutionary Writer:

&c.

From Revolution the First,

July 14, 1789.*

VOL. I. PAGE 198.—In the bosom of the National Assembly were sown the latent seeds of discord. That discord began to manifest itself

* Although the arrangement of the work, here offered to the public, has been already spoken of in the Introduction; yet it may not be unnecessary to request the Reader to observe, that the classification of the revolutions, in the course of the following sheets, is adopted, not in the same view as it is by Mons. Pagès, who employs it as a link of connection necessarily arising out of his subject, by which the chain of narration is preserved, and the order of events marked; but, as a mere head of chapter, under which the matter, incident to each revolution, may more methodically be placed, than were it deviously culled, and thrown loosely into one general course of reflections.

as soon as a necessity arose of proceeding to a declaration of rights; and the contest encreased in ardour, on the discussion taking place respecting the share in legislation, which the king should be allowed to possess. The assembly first proceeded to settle the declaration of rights; as an architect, who, in laying the foundation of an edifice, commences by placing the first stone, which is to serve as the basis of the superstructure. That declaration which ought only to have exhibited some eternal truths applicable to every form of government, appeared on first inspection, to be very simple in its nature, and little liable to contestation or doubt. But it was soon felt, that nothing is more difficult in itself, and perhaps more dangerous in its consequences, than the proclaiming aloud to the multitude those grand principles, which are established on the abstract reasonings of metaphysics: for the many are too much inclined to adopt such among them, as either favour, or serve for a pretext to license; while they reject others, that have a contrary tendency.

Different schemes, exhibiting the declaration of rights, were offered daily in great numbers. The difficulties notwithstanding, which that subject presented, seemed to be encreasing; inso-much that the ablest persons began to fear, not without reason, as the event has since confirmed, lest the declaration of the rights of man should

should be less entitled to that appellation, than to the name of a declaration of war between the different ranks of society.

VOL. i. p. 200.—The Reader is acquainted with the declaration of rights, made by the second constituent assembly; and he will perceive that it contains, as well as other compositions exhibited, of the like nature, a great many of those principles, founded on positions more specious than true, and consequently delusive, which we censured in the scheme of Mons. Syeies.* The examination of the first article, which is the most important one in that declaration, will sufficiently illustrate the propriety of our arguments; it lays down, “that man is born equal in rights, and continues to possess that equality.” Liberty and equality of natural rights are probably here meant; in which case, there is not a maxim, thus laid down, more erroneous, and more destructive of all society. This may be clearly demonstrated; but in doing it, we must recur to principles, which the assembly did not take into the scope of its contemplation: it appears not to have known that there are certain positions, which are calculated the more surely to mislead, as on

* The observations made by Mr. Pagès on the schemes of a constitution exhibited by Messrs. Syeies, Mounier, and Lafayette, being very cursory, we have thought it unnecessary to give an account of them.

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Syeies 22

a first view, they carry the appearance of truth. The vulgar multitude discover but one sense in the general proposition above mentioned; which is the sense that most flatters their wishes: the metaphysical meaning, removed beyond the reach of their capacity, escapes their notice. The grand error of the assembly consisted in having advanced for axiom a theorem, which stood in need of rigid demonstration; and which very likely, after a process of geometrical exactness, would have exhibited, instead of a theorem, a problematical question only; the analysis of which would have given for result this proposition: "All men, without distinction, possess an equal right to the justice and humanity of their fellow creatures." Surely a principle, so clear, so true, and susceptible of the highest degree of argumental evidence, could never have been perverted and misused by the people.

What does the vulgar multitude of every nation know, or what idea can it form of natural right? What benefit, too, would it derive from a knowledge of that right; since man nowhere exists in a state of nature; on the contrary, he lives in society, and can desire nothing beyond the melioration of his lot, in that state of society? Is the generality of people capable of perceiving that the proposition set forth in the declaration of rights, admitting even it were true, ceases to be so from the moment that men,

con-

conjoining, form a body-politic? Is it not on the contrary, more natural it should persuade itself, that, perfect equality being established among mankind, the abolition of property, incompatible with that equality, ought to be the consequence?—Yes;—surely it is: and strictly too have the poorer ranks of people followed the dictates of that mode of reasoning, by being guilty of the most enormous excesses since the declaration of rights. It were then much to be wished, that on the contrary, nothing had been omitted, in order to curb, rather than add new ferment to that spirit of license. Mr. Malouet sufficiently represented the evils that would result from investing metaphysical reasonings with the character of laws. The English bill of rights was the production of an age, in which scholastic subtilties were blended with discussions of every kind; yet, the first principles of natural and political universal rights, founded in abstract theory, were wisely thrown aside in the framing of that grand charter.

VOL. i. p. 214.—The king was deprived of the absolute veto, or unqualified negative voice in the legislature; although Mr. de Mirabeau, the elder, frankly owned that he would rather live at Constantinople than in France, if the laws of the latter country should be framed without the concurrence of the monarch's con-

sent. His assertion in that respect was founded in reason; and became additionally just, when the resolution of not dividing the legislature into two houses was persisted in.

Mirabeau has played too great a part in the history of the revolution, not to claim particular mention being made of him in this place.* Mr. de Mirabeau was one of those uncommon men, who seem born to influence the fate of the age in which they live, and even that of succeeding generations, provided circumstances concur to place them in their proper sphere of action. The revolution was an event, without which, he could never have displayed the full extent of his powers. Out of the popular assemblies of the nation, he would have been known to the world only by works transitorily interesting, which never would have furnished a criterion, whereby a true judgment could have been formed of his greatest talent, that of haranguing extempore from the rostrum; and as it were commanding the subject assembly, from the extreme heights of genius and elo-

* The reason given by Mr. Pagès for dwelling so long on the article of Mirabeau, is the one we have to offer also in behalf of ourselves, for following his example. We confess that we are also prompted to expatiating on this article, by the further motive, that it affords a striking example of the levity of mind, in the French nation. That people would have been as puzzled perhaps, to give a good reason for the excess of their *engouement* in the first instance, as they would have been at a loss in the second, to account for their subsequent *dégout*.

quence,

quence. The talent of extempore elocution is allowed to be specially favourable to disputation : beside which, an impressive style of action ; a melodious and clear tone of voice ; an ardent mind, and a cool unalterable command of temper ; a lust, not for true fame, but of playing, at any cost, a conspicuous part ; a rapid and seething torrent of eloquence ; extensive erudition ; a perfect knowledge of human nature, and a consummate skill in the art of working on the passions of a numerous assembly ;—all those qualities co-operated in Mirabeau to affect, lead away, subdue the mind of his auditory ; and, finally, to evince how great is the power, possessed by the strong lever of eloquence. Armed with this force, Mirabeau raised at pleasure the storms of opinion ; shook every imagination ; and gave the strongest impulse to the movement of the revolution : he excited and repressed at will, the most violent commotions ; and to him with particular propriety may be applied, the words of *Æschines*, speaking of an oration of *Demosthenes* : “ What “ would have been your applause, had you heard “ him pronounce it ? ” * The admiration and

* *Æschines* opened his lectures at *Rhodes*, with the two orations that had occasioned his banishment from *Athens*, to which great encomiums were given : but when they heard that of *Demosthenes*, the people redoubled their applauses, and acclamations. It was then he spoke these words so laudable in the mouth of a rival, and an enemy : “ But what applauses would you have bestowed, had “ you heard *Demosthenes* himself pronounce it ? ”

enthusiasm excited by the great talents of Mirabeau, were carried to such a length, that at the moment when the partizans of the absolute Veto were unrelentingly proscribed, Mirabeau, who tenaciously supported an opinion in favour of the absolute Negative being vested in the king, remained no less the man of the people. Well aware of his advantage, he did not scruple to say, that a man like him, could not easily be rendered unpopular. Mirabeau, like most great men, had strong passions: he was used to confess his errors himself, as also not to conceal the immorality and excesses of his private life. Even under a peaceable government, he had led a stormy existence; and he seemed to have attained his proper element, when he was transported into the middle of political tempests. He did not live long enough to render it possible to pronounce positively, whether he had a secret plan, or of what nature it might be. Every thing, however, leads to a belief, that it was his intention to favour the views of the Orleans faction, in the assurance of becoming prime minister. Mirabeau lived too long for his fame: it is now evident that he was a man ready to prostitute his talents to every party, and resolved to play off each, according as the interest of his ambition should direct. We shall retouch this sketch of his portrait, when we reach the epocha, at which he terminated his career. It will then be seen that he never was a
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real statesman, still less a good citizen. His immorality and ambitious views, the latter of which, however, did not lead him so far as to aspire to the acting of a first character, prevented him from immortalizing himself more gloriously, by procuring to France a constitution, nearly similar to that of America, or to that which we adopted in the year 1795. It would have been such an act, that would have entitled him to the appellation of a great man: instead of which, he can only be called an eloquent and cunning impostor; an egotist; an ambitious man of an ordinary cast: who did not even possess that numerous eloquence, which bears the ordeal of the closet, in the same degree as Cicero and Demosthenes.*

* It must be owned, indeed, that Mirabeau is sadly depreciated here:—not even allowed to possess the talents of Cicero and Demosthenes!

Revolution the Second.

*Massacres of the fifth and sixth of October, 1789.**

VOL. i. p. 231.—It was not till after two days, that the transactions of Versailles were known at Paris: this will appear the more extraordinary, if the proximity of the two places, and the intercourse subsisting between them, be considered. The effect produced by the news of those events,† is more easily imagined than described.

VOL. i. p. 233.—The sound of the *tocfin*, and of the drums beating to arms in all quarters, had kept the town for several hours in a state

* This revolution, with the attendant massacres, and the consequent event of the king, queen, and royal family, being led captive by the mob to Paris, was founded chiefly on two circumstances, frequently alluded to in the course of this work, and much insisted on, as heavy charges of accusation against the sovereign, and his friends. These circumstances were two entertainments given under the sanction of the court, by the *gardes du corps*, on the first and second of October, to the regiment of Flanders, on its arrival at Versailles.

† The entertainments of the first and second of October. Vide Note above.

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of commotion; when a deputation from the people came to Mr. Lafayette, requiring, "that the king be forthwith conducted to Paris, and the regiment of Flanders, together with the *gardes du corps*, exterminated." Mr. de Lafayette, while endeavouring in vain to divert the people from their purpose, received a letter from the municipality, enjoining him to set out instantly with the Parisian army, for Versailles. The general discovered great emotion at this message; and, casting an anxious eye on the numerous battalions, which surrounded him, gave the order for departure. It must never be lost sight of, that the Orleans faction contributed not a little to keeping the public mind in a state of ferment, either by means of the journalists in its pay, or through its liberality, not to say its profuseness, at the palais royal.

The national assembly, whose apathy, during all these transactions at Versailles, is truly astonishing, was pursuing its deliberations with unaltered tranquillity. The promotion of Mounier to the presidency was a measure which greatly irritated the people, who considered him a traitor, because he had delivered an opinion decidedly in support of the royal sanction in legislation; and because his system for the division of the legislative body into two houses was well known. Mr. Mounier, however, was one of the principal authors of the revolution, and one

one of the original leaders of the patriotic party. He was a man of integrity, and possessed of extensive knowledge;—but the vulgar multitude will be ever vulgar, and incapable of discerning its true friends.

VOL. i. p. 235.—During the course of the discussion,* an extraordinary commotion and ferment prevailed throughout the assembly; and every thing seemed to indicate, a violent and imminently pending shock. Mr. de Mirabeau, aware of what was in agitation, (since he, together with d'Orleans, was probably the secret spring of action,) approaching Monnier, the president, said to him in a low voice, “Mounier, Paris is marching against us: go to the palace, and acquaint them with the impending danger. Say, if you please, that you have the information from me. But be sure at any rate, you put a stop to the scandalous dispute in which they are there engaged. Time presses;—there is not a moment to lose.”

The event soon justified the assertion of Mirabeau. About three o'clock thousands of women were seen advancing along the avenue,

* The discussion was, on the necessity of sending a deputation, composed of the president, and some of the representatives, to the king, beseeching him to give a literal acceptance of the declaration of rights.

which

which leads from Paris ; Maillard at their head.* They stopt and forced back into the rear of their legion all those couriers, who sought to get the start of them, in order to convey the alarm of their approach to Versailles.

VOL. i. p. 240.—The news of the approach of the army of Paris, opportunely created a diversion from all the scenes of that day.† Order was forthwith given that the regiment of Flanders, be again under arms ; but accompanied with injunctions not to proceed to any hostile act. The dragoons were now intermixed with the people. About ten o'clock Mr. Mounier, entering the assembly, read to the people, and women, assembled together, the pure and unqualified acceptance, just given by the king, to divers articles of the constitution.

VOL. i. p. 242.—The Parisian troops, fatigued with their march, and harrassed by the badness of the weather, sought only a place of shelter, where they might enjoy some rest ; and, having attained that object, a tranquil night

* The first excesses which ensued on the arrival of this multitude at Versailles, are too notorious ; and, from the unnatural ferocity of the actors in those scenes, too little inviting to render the recital of them here, either necessary or agreeable ; besides, those of the next day, still more fatal in their consequences, must find place in this collection ; and it would be dwelling tediously on a painful subject.

† Tumults of the fifth of October.

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succeeded to the tumult of the preceding day. Mr. Lafayette thought he might also venture to indulge in repose ; but dreadful events soon occurred, to rouse him from his fatal, and, it must be owned, no less surprising than culpable security. Those legions of women, who had left Paris on the preceding day, passed the night, stationed partly in the hall of the national assembly, and partly in the parade guard-room. Some hired ruffians, who were dispersed among the citizens, finished the work of inflaming their minds. Thus, having mutually intoxicated each other with rage, they sallied forth at day-break, greedy of revenge, and thirsting after blood. It was about five o'clock ; and the dawn was beginning to appear, when the throng advanced towards the palace. In the general disorder, occasioned by the events of the day before, the most ordinary precautions against accidents were omitted to be taken ; and the unruly multitude found no difficulty in penetrating into the royal court of the palace. The *gardes du corps* took arms ; when a musquet shot, the effect either of imprudence, or rather perhaps of mistaken zeal, coming from a window in the castle, extended a citizen lifeless on the ground. Roused at this sight, and uttering terrible imprecations, chiefly against the queen, the crowd rushed forward to immediate vengeance. Already were the assailants ascending the great flight of steps at the entrance, when the *gardes du*

du corps appeared. Mr. Miomandre de Sainte Marie, one of that regiment, advancing impetuously forward, was so fiercely attacked, as to be able with difficulty, to effect his retreat to the main body, which, immediately falling back, took its station partly in the king's saloon, and partly in the great hall. The ruffians then bent their course towards the queen's apartments, attacking those who were on guard there. In vain Mr. Tardivet de Repaire endeavoured to enter, in order to stop the passage of the frantic multitude: he was assailed, and fell under the weight of reiterated blows. At length, after disarming a man, who aimed a thrust at him with a pike, he succeeded in getting upon his legs; and was parrying with that very weapon, the repeated charges of the bayonet from a soldier, when the door of the king's room was suddenly opened, and two of his brother officers pulled him in through the aperture. During that time, a guard of the queen's chamber was mercilessly dragged down the stair-case, in the sight of Mr. Miomandre de Sainte Marie; who, solely alarmed for the safety of the princess, continued to force his way through the tide of an enraged mob, and neither the sight of Mr. de Repaire, who was then struggling against a band of assassins, nor the din raised by a party of savages, who, with hideous howls, were threatening death around, could turn him from his purpose, or retard his progress. On reaching the queen's apartment,

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he cried to a woman, who was at the further end of an inner room, "Madam; save the queen.—I am here alone opposed to two thousand tigers, who seek to take her life." Having said this, he shut the door; and it was not many minutes before the thrust of a pike, brought him to the ground. At the same moment another assailant, coming up, struck him on the head with the but end of his musquet, and left him senseless, weltering in blood. The ruffians, supposing him killed, proceeded to rifle his pockets, and afterwards returned to the grand hall, where they possessed themselves of the arms. Mr. Miomandre, after some time, recovering his senses, and observing that there were then only four persons remaining at the door, collected what strength was left him, and fortunately effected his escape. Mr. de la Roque Saint Virieu, who was on guard in the queen's hall, seeing that there was no time to be lost, forced his way, with five or six of his companions, into the first apartment: they then penetrated as far as the antichamber; and were afterwards admitted into her own room; from whence they retired again immediately, in order to afford her time to dress. The queen in haste slipping on an under coat and stockings, and throwing a cloak over her shoulders, went to the king, through a back way called the king's lobby. While she was proceeding through that part of the palace, known by the name of

Oeil

Oeil de Bœuf, she distinguished voices in a threatening tone, exclaiming, "she is a Messalina;—we must hang her;—we must devour her liver." A double report of fire-arms, which was heard at that instant, contributed to encrease her terror. She reached, however, the place whither she was going; and, bursting into a flood of tears, as she entered the king's apartment, "friends: dear friends," she cried; "save me and my children!" She found in the room only the dauphin, whom Madame Tournel had just brought thither. The king, roused from sleep at the moment of the castle being first assailed, had dressed himself in haste; and, gone to the queen, had entered her apartment at one door, in the very moment, when she had gone out of it, in quest of him, by another. His alarm at not seeing her, was no sooner removed by the guards, who were still on the spot, than he returned to his own chamber; where having found her, they afterwards proceeded together to fetch their daughter. It became necessary now, that they should turn their thoughts to preparing themselves to appear before the people. We must in justice confess that Lewis XVI. on this occasion, manifested a great degree of resolution. Nero,*
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* The difference between the conduct of Louis XVI. and that of Nero, in a nearly similar predicament of personal danger, so far from being a remarkable circumstance, is merely the natural and
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in an almost similar conjuncture, was at a loss to find a place sufficiently secure, wherein to conceal himself. The *gardes du corps* too, on those days, by their heroic valour, would have effaced (could any thing obliterate them,) the crimes committed in the orgies of the fifth and sixth of October.* All those who could be collected together, now entrenched themselves in the Oeil de Bœuf, by means of different articles of furniture, with which they barricaded the doors. But an hideous noise was soon heard; the brigands knocked with redoubled fury; a pannel already gave way, and nothing but death seemed now awaiting every one, when suddenly a profound calm succeeded to the tumult. The national Parisian guard, who, on hearing of the disastrous scenes which were passing in the palace, had lost no time in marching to its relief, were arrived. Already they were pouring in on all sides; and in the space of a very few minutes, the apartments were cleared of the brigands. A great number of the gardes

necessary result of the different situation of a soul armed with innocence, and of one under the pressure of guilt. What wonder then that the conduct of these two men should not be similar? Mr. Pagès does not discover his usual penetration in this comparison:—but Homer sleeps sometimes.

* These crimes were; putting white cockades in their hats, singing *O! Richard O! mon roi*, with some other songs of a similar tendency, and, throughout a joyous evening, manifesting sentiments of loyalty, and attachment to the king and the royal family.

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du corps had unfortunately fallen into their hands. Messieurs Desfuittes, and Varicourt, taken by surprise in the first onset, had been massacred; and their heads, stuck on the point of two spears, were afterwards borne to Paris, and carried about in triumph at the palais royal. Divers parties of the enraged mob were contending among themselves, as to the manner in which they should exercise their merciless power on the devoted prisoners in their hands. Some were for hanging them at the lamp-posts; while others were calling aloud for the aid of a murderer of their gang, called "Coupe-tête;" that was the name assumed by this man, or rather monster, who was distinguished from the rest of the rabble by a long beard, and two white plates, which he wore upon his breast.

VOL. i. p. 249.—The king had no sooner appeared upon one of the balconies, accompanied by the queen and royal children, than a voice cried out, "let the king come to Paris." These words being echoed on every side by the people and the army around; Mr. Lafayette came forward, and announced that it was the monarch's intention to comply with the wishes of the capital. The national assembly in consequence passed a decree, by which the king and the constituent body were declared inseparable during that session. The assembly also nominated a deputation of one hundred of its

members, for the purpose of accompanying the king on his journey to Paris. A considerable detachment of the army, a train of artillery, an immense concourse of women, and men, armed with pikes, opened the procession.

VOL. i. p. 250.—The main body of the army closed the retinue, which formed an appearance at once awful and hideous, inasmuch as it must not be omitted that “Coupe-tete,” the man with a long beard, wearing a high cap, and carrying on his shoulder a bloody axe, was in the van. This man, with his hair, his garments, his hands dripping gore, and his face besmeared also with blood, walked between two ruffians, who bore upon a lance, the one the head of Desfuites, the other that of Vari-court. This extraordinary procession offered to the spectator at one and the same time the fourfold representation, of a slaughter, a civic feast, a saturnalia, and a triumphal and war procession. The monarch might have been equally taken for a father in the middle of his family, for a victim surrounded by his executioners, or for a prince dethroned, and led in triumph captive by his subjects. It is a circumstance not, perhaps, the least remarkable of all these uncommon incidents, that Lafayette had not credit enough to prevent the two bleeding heads being born before the king’s carriage; at a moment too, when the people, re-

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stored to their natural sensibility and affection towards their sovereign, would certainly not have refused to remove from before his eye, so frightful and disgusting a sight.—And there are those, who to this day, term that man the tenderest and most faithful friend of Lewis XVI.!

VOL. i. p. 254.—It is also certain, that the Duke of Orleans, Mirabeau, and Laclos, who has so ably drawn his own portrait; that is to say, described Crime, and all its infernal machinations, in his Novel entitled, *Les Liaisons Dangereuses*;—in short, the Orleans party took advantage of the imprudence of the court, in order to stir up the people, and cause the royal family to be murdered.

VOL. i. p. 255. The Duke of Orleans had on his side Mirabeau, whose ambition was directed to becoming minister under that prince. It appears also that Necker, without being devoted to him, did not possess courage sufficient to oppose his views: and it is no less certain that all his family, especially the Baroness de Stael, and many persons, in habits of intimacy with Necker, were at bottom attached to Orleans.

IBID.—Fortunately d'Orleans had a timidity, a cowardice of character, as unworthy of a prince,

prince, as ill suited a conspirator: three or four times did he miss reaping the fruit of his crimes; and to his weakness alone he owed the failure.

VOL. i. p. 256.—It will be seen in the sequel, that Mirabeau was also far from possessing the genius, though he might very likely have all the audacity, necessary for a conspirator. The same is to be said of Robespierre and Marat: thus, when the Baroness de Stael says, in a work she has lately published, “that our “revolution has not been deficient in producing “great men,” she certainly neither alluded to a Lafayette, nor a Dumourier; nor yet to any of our conspirators; many among whom have surpassed the ancients in villany, without possessing either their courage or genius.

VOL. i. p. 270.—A thirteenth cause* may be found in the person of the Count de Mirabeau; who felt that he was formed to fill a place in the states general of France; if, in order to merit that situation, it were sufficient to possess the talent of overthrowing every thing, without having that of creating any thing to supply the place of what was destroyed; who was well aware that he should have ob-

* In enumerating the different causes of the revolutions in France.

stacles to encounter, especially in consequence of his *Secret History of the Court of Berlin*; and who, therefore, had recourse to caballing, in order to work his way, and secure his election. As a gentleman of Provence, he addressed himself to that class of his countrymen; they disowned him. The nobility knew not the power of a man of genius, and was punished for its ignorance. Mirabeau was received with open arms by the third estate; and entered the lists against the *noblesse*, provided with the triple weapons of daring principles, resentment, and great talents. Mirabeau may not improperly be compared to a weight in a balance: remove that weight, and place it in the opposite scale, you have an upper house in the legislature, and a revolution of a quite different nature.

VOL. i. p. 273.—But has not that assembly* overstrained the principles of philosophy and reasoning? Has it not run the risk of reducing the revolution to the nullity of the mathematical point, in seeking to regulate it by metaphysical propositions? Has it not proceeded much too great lengths? Has it not destroyed more than it has created, and thrown down more than it has replaced? Has it not fallen into the error of Joseph II.? The attempt at reformation, if it embraces too many objects at once,

* The constituent assembly.

runs the risk of succeeding in none; and it is more especially with respect to the fundamental innovations of an empire, that more should be left to the effect of time, than to the stroke of the reforming axe. A more forcible illustration of that grand truth than any to be found in the record of history, is afforded by the event of our revolution. In a political point of view, as well as for the interest even of that revolution itself, could any thing be of more dangerous tendency, than that hasty march so devouring and destructive in its effect? Thence the obstacles and numberless plots, which it was incessantly necessary to counteract; thence too, all that blood, which still continues to flow; all the victims that have since fallen.

VOL. i. p. 375.—The king, always irresolute, or, perhaps, with the intention of illuding the vigilant eye of Mr. de Mirabeau, whose concert with the Duke of Orleans could not but occasion him uneasiness, had sought to gain him over to his interests. He consulted him on the means of giving a new cast to the constitution. Mirabeau was of opinion, that a nation cannot enjoy, to their full extent, its political rights, or at least those dearest of all rights, tranquillity and security of property, except under a kingly government. He contended that monarchy should be circumscribed within constitutional limits, in order to prevent it from degenerating
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into despotism; but, at the same time, that it should form a barrier against the inroads of the rabble. Mirabeau, in his answer to the king, said, "that he saw no other step to be taken, than that of the monarch placing himself in some part of the kingdom, whence he might with safety submit to the legislature those modifications in the government, which should be judged indispensably necessary." Louis XVI. adopted, though perhaps reluctantly, the proposal, or, at least, feigned to adopt it. Some essays were accordingly made of a concerted plan, preparatory to its execution; but the death of Mirabeau soon after took place. It must be observed here, that Mirabeau, who was paid by d'Orleans, received, on this occasion, money also from the king; although he was very far from believing that the advice he gave was either practicable, or likely to be attended with success.

VOL. i. p. 376.—The obsequies of Mirabeau could not be termed funeral rites, they were rather a triumph; and such an one too, as never hero of ancient Rome obtained. Asiatic treasures did not grace the pomp, neither were captive kings in chains seen following in procession; Mirabeau alone formed all the majesty of this triumph. Behold on the summit of fame he is now ranked among the immortal tribe! His effigy meets every eye; his name is
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on every tongue; and it is in the superb church of St. Genevieve, in the Pantheon, that he is going to receive divine honours;* he is about to be placed between Voltaire and Rousseau, beside Descartes. All Paris, an innumerable throng, the Parisian army, a million of men, the whole nation, in the person of its representatives, accompanied the funeral pomp.

Let us now call to mind Mirabeau, on his entering into life, escaped from the prisons of France, wandering about Holland, without an asylum, and destitute of bread; hiring himself to a bookseller, and undertaking for a livelihood, the translation of a work, written in a language which he did not understand; procuring a Grammar and a Dictionary, and learning English by degrees, as he proceeded in the version he had undertaken. It is curious to compare this anecdote of his life with that, when, in his last illness, he could see and hear from his bed, citizens of all orders, women of every condition, flocking from different parts of

* On this subject Mr. Pagès has the following note: (vol. I. p. 377.) "It must not be concluded from this expression, which, perhaps, may be rather inflated, that divinity was absolutely ascribed to our great men, or those who have been proclaimed such: no invocations are addressed to them; no worship is paid them. It will moreover be seen in the sequel of this history, that the honours of the Pantheon have been as prodigally bestowed, as the solemnity of an oath has been lavishly profaned; or as laws and decrees have been passed with profusion;—nearly as soon revoked as promulgated!"

the city, to the street in which he lived; crowding round his house; fixing anxious looks upon the very walls and windows of his dwelling; with wild confusion surrounding and questioning the physicians who attended him; hawkers selling hourly, in every street of Paris, a fresh report of the progress of the malady. From all these demonstrations of public concern, he might be said to have tasted, as it were, by anticipation, of immortality; and by the general alarm and ardent interest universally expressed concerning his fate, he might be justified in predicting that his end would be considered as a public calamity. With the consternation, fright, and accents of general grief, we have just seen, let us first compare the indifference and profound silence, in which the ephemeral reputation of Mr. Necker vanished; then that indifference and silence with the triumphal entry of the same Mr. Necker at Paris. Let us afterwards reflect on the sumptuous funeral honours paid to Mirabeau; honours so extraordinary, as almost to exceed human deserts. Let us call to mind that solemn kind of proclamation of the fame of a great man; that idolatrous enthusiasm, that intoxication of the people of Paris; and then let us turn our thoughts to Mirabeau, only a few months before hooted, abused by that same people, when Barnave was borne in triumph;—to Mirabeau, threatened to be hung at the lamp-post, for
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having endeavoured to maintain, though with a timid hand, the equilibrium of government, and to prevent anarchy from taking place, by strengthening the executive power, and investing it with the right of proposing, in the first instance, and, in concurrence with the legislature, of deciding, in the second, on peace and war. Behold, at an interval of only about three years from that period, the same Mirabeau, so lately receiving the tribute of Apotheosis, turned out of the Pantheon by a decree of the assembly!*—And who can put a price on those visionary advantages, fame, reputation! He, who has acquired celebrity in Europe; is he not unknown in China and elsewhere? and, at last, does not death deprive him of that fame, since it prevents his any longer enjoying it?

It is impossible to reflect on the strange vicissitudes we have just given an account of, without calling to mind the words of Cromwell, in the midst of a multitude of people, who were thronging round him: "Were I going to the scaffold," said he, "their acclamations would

* The decree runs thus: "Article I. The national convention, taking into consideration that no person can be deemed a great man, who is devoid of virtue, decrees, that the body of Honoré Gabriel Riquetti Mirabeau be withdrawn from the French Pantheon."

"Article II. On the same day when the body of Mirabeau shall be removed from the Pantheon, that of Marat shall be transferred thither.—Decreed unanimously." (*Vide Secret History of the Revolution*, by Mr. Pagès, vol. i. p. 388.)

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"be still greater." Such is the true picture of the people! always passive itself, it becomes the tool of others. Executions at the *Place de Greve*, and the funeral solemnities of a great man, are objects equally productive of emotions in the people.

VOL. i. p. 380.—It would be easy to prove that the veto, or negative voice, proposed to be vested in the king, the power of deciding on peace and war, together with the plan of the law respecting emigrants, and those in the discharge of public functions, were measures which clashed in their nature with the principles maintained by Mirabeau. But may we not, without assuming too much, conclude thence, that Mirabeau was not a slave to his principles, at least, to those which he publicly professed? that he had been reduced to the necessity of adopting those principles, if he wished to continue to act any part in the revolution, or to be revenged of the nobility, who had offended him? that, fettered till then by the party to which he had attached himself, he neither had been able, nor had ventured, to manifest sooner his real sentiments in favour of monarchy, limited by constitutional laws, or to display all the force of his genius?—That he was on the eve of expanding his powers, when death overtook him, appears most evidently, from the engagement he had recently formed in the rostrum of the Jacobin

Jacobin society, to combat the factions of all parties and systems. This resolution accounts for the many different reports which prevailed, respecting the occasion of his death: some affirmed that the Jacobin leaders had caused him to be poisoned, in consequence of the sentiments he had just before declared: others asserted, that he had undergone that fate by the hands of d'Orleans, who had come to the knowledge that he had venally sold his support to the king's party. This last opinion appears to be the best founded.

VOL. i. p. 381.—A careless abuse of his natural strength; a want of regularity in regimen; continual meditation, and excessive and impetuous passions, had undermined the robust constitution of Mirabeau: he neglected withal to attend to the repeated advice of his physician; so that those causes, supposing he were not poisoned, (which, however, it is but too much to be presumed he was) may be considered as sufficient to have occasioned his end. His malady manifested itself suddenly; and Paris, in receiving intelligence of his illness, learned also that he was dying.

VOL. i. p. 388.—It remains only to give a sketch of Mirabeau's person. His head, sunk in the elevation of large shoulders, was of a monstrous size: the rest of his stature formed a clumsy

clumsy ponderous mass. His forehead, seldom unwrinkled, his long brows, knitted in frowns, a look that scared the beholder; constituted an index of the hideousness of his soul.—He was a bad son, a bad husband, a bad citizen.

Revolution the Third.

*Acceptance of the Constitution of 1791.**

VOL. i. p. 412.—Neither will we in this place call to mind the error, committed by the assembly, in not adopting the form of the constitution of England. The establishment of an upper house, had prevented the emigration of a brilliant corps of nobility, of a multitude of persons, both wealthy, and possessed of great merit; had raised France to the highest pitch of

* The constituent assembly digested and presented to the king, a code of Constitutional statutes, which the monarch accepted on the fourteenth of September, 1791. This act was termed the Constitution of 1791.

prosperity, which it is possible she should attain ; and had been the means of averting the calamity both of internal and external war. By it also had been avoided all the acts of absurdity and villainy, as well as the crimes and misfortunes, which are to be ascribed to the Orleans faction, in the first instance, and to the Decemvirs in the second. The assembly was guilty of a still greater error, as we have already observed, in not forming the plan of two houses of legislature, as ultimately settled by the constitution of 1795. That form of constitution is more consonant than any other, with the principles of equality, philosophy, and true liberty ; will contribute more essentially to the felicity of the major part of the community, particularly to that of future generations ; and would have been the means of averting the crimes, which took place during the decemvirate. The constitution of England, even modified, did not afford the same great advantages ; though it would certainly have contributed more to the happiness of the present generation, in sheltering it from the evils it has sustained. Besides, the public cause would not have been exposed to that multitude of dangers, which it has only escaped by a species of miracle ; and the constituent body was not a little blamable, in having exposed it to hazards, the issue of which it was impossible to calculate. It is withal a question subject to much controversy, whether
it

it be allowable to sacrifice the existing generation to the welfare of posterity, even though the future advantage to be derived, should greatly exceed the present benefit forgone. Our opinion is in the negative.

We shall now confine ourselves to two points, which appear to us, to offer difficulties of no less delicate solution than the preceding question: and in our discussion of that subject, we shall take for guide the brilliant and learned Author of the *Correspondence of an Inhabitant of Paris, with his Friends in Switzerland and England*. The first point to be discussed, should in our opinion, be propounded in the following terms: “What affinity does
“the doctrine of equality bear with the organi-
“zation of the body politic, and the mainte-
“nance of social harmony; without which,
“there exists neither security nor happiness?” In order to treat that matter fully, it would be necessary to examine, whether there are not some errors, which are beneficial in their consequences; some truths, which it would be dangerous to reveal; some prejudices, which are of a wholesome tendency; and some political mysteries, which ought never to be unveiled. It should also be considered, how far it may be fit that man should be deceived for his own benefit; and finally, whether a people, suddenly become sovereign, and initiated into the art of metaphysical and political reasoning;—a people,

moreover, impetuous of nature, and facile of prepossession, is not furnished with every necessary weapon for accomplishing its own destruction. We ought to reflect, too, whether such a people does not also consequently become more readily the victim of faction, and is not more liable to pervert the use of every thing that is valuable and beneficial; in the same manner as a phrenetick might turn against himself those very weapons, which should be committed to him for his defence. The assembly should at least have placed the antidote beside the poison: a declaration of duties ought to have accompanied the declaration of rights. The constituent body did even worse in our opinion, than divulge to the people truths, which it was evident they would misuse; it advanced propositions highly erroneous. According to our judgment, inequality exists more in the state of nature, than it does in the order of society. In the former state, the feeble, far from being equal to the more robust, becomes entirely his dependent, whereas in the latter, the weak, on the contrary, finds wherewith to counterpoise the power of strength. In short, we could wish, that in the declaration it had been said, "men are born unequal in bodily strength, as well as in moral, intellectual, and physical qualities; but their union by the bonds of society, diminishes, softens, compensates, and effaces that inequality, by the mutual

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“ protection afforded between the individuals,
 “ and by the support derived to the feeble,
 “ from the tutelar power of the laws.”

The other point, upon which we shall venture to pass censure on the constituent assembly, is, its having rather aimed at destroying, than constructing; its having immersed itself in heaps of ruins; submitted to being surrounded with malecontents, and deviated from the maxim of the greatest legislators, by which we have ever been taught, that the framing of laws, even good ones, is an object of secondary consideration, to that of making laws, which are tenable; and that the means to secure their duration, is, to deviate, in framing them, as little as possible, from the antient customs of that people, to whom they are intended to apply. The constituent body has exposed the revolution to plots of all kinds, and occasioned that effusion of blood, which was the consequence of the simultaneous and precipitate reform of every abuse, which had hitherto existed.

The constituent assembly committed another fault, most fatal in its consequences, in not temporising, with respect to the affairs of the colonies; and not postponing the revolution of those settlements, till after the period, when that of our own country should have been established.

VOL. i. p. 434.—The word republic was al-

ready on every tongue, the idea it conveyed was in every mind; particularly among the numerous popular societies, which over-spread France. But it remained much to be feared, as the event has too well proved, lest the delirium of democracy should take place; that is to say, a democracy, so founded, as to leave a too great share of influence at the disposal of the multitude. A democracy of such a description, without any counterpoise, or regulating power, to guide its action, is a scourge of the most destructive kind; is a form of government, the least adapted to a great, or even to a little state. Thus Lycurgus, on being asked, "Wherefore he had established at Lacedæmon a balance of powers, instead of having introduced a pure democracy," replied, "Begin by first establishing a pure democracy in your own household." This wise answer of the great legislator, ought to suffice for recalling to their senses those, who have been fired with the phrenzy of setting up a popular form of government. The major part of our republicans, was, unfortunately, at that time composed only of frantic demagogues.

VOL. i. p. 435.—The first sitting of the legislative assembly seemed to presage union, peace, and the utmost harmony, between the two powers. The constitutional act was born into the assembly with a kind of religious worship.

ship. Each deputy ascended the rostrum ; and, laying his hand on that political gospel, took an oath to maintain, to the utmost of his power, the constitution established by decree, in the years 1789, 1790, and 1791.

But an unlooked for storm, which arose on a sudden, carried horror among the friends of peace, and revived the hope of those, who had yielded with reluctance to the force of circumstances.

VOL. i. p. 437.—The constituent assembly, originally composed of deputies of the three rival orders, rather than of representatives of the people, had of course been divided by the difference of the prejudices and interests of its members. The legislative assembly, on the contrary, formed of homogeneous elements, seemed not to contain in its composition similar seeds of dissention : it was not long, however, before discord was seen to hover on it. The separation of the friends of the constitution had formed two centre-spots of reunion, two rallying points, for the two most opposite parties, the Jacobins and those termed Feuillans.

VOL. i. p. 438.—The greater part of the new deputies, on their arrival at Paris, had eagerly entered under the banner of either the one, or the other of those societies,* both of

* Jacobins and Feuillans.

which alike styled themselves the friends of the constitution, and alike endeavoured to subject the new deputies to the dictates of their particular prejudices and interests, or rather, to the will of their chiefs, by whose invisible arm they were directed. Exaggerated professions of principle, which, in the eye of the multitude, are considered the stamp of patriotism, did not fail to conciliate popular favour to the Jacobins. Continual denunciations against the ministers, generals, and magistrates, together with appropriate emphatic declarations, diffused over their sittings a degree of interest approaching almost to dramatic, which was calculated to procure them a numerous audience. The constitution, for which the whole nation had so long thirsted, was at length accomplished; the public calamities nevertheless were encreasing. Every day gave birth to the perpetration of fresh outrages, both on persons and property. Public liberty, that precious trust, committed to the care of the legislature, was deemed to be safely guarded by the plan of delegating to justices of the peace the exercise of the police. But the situation of France was not sufficiently mature for that sublime institution. Never was it more evident than at the present conjuncture, that states are not to be governed according to the abstract reasonings of metaphysics; and that those laws, which are framed by the nicest rules of reason, cannot, however, be deemed the best, unless

unless they are adapted to the circumstances of the times, the situation of place, and the state, both physical and moral, of the people, for whose benefit they are intended.

VOL. i. p. 446.—It was not difficult to foresee the consequences, which would attend these two authoritative acts of the king.* The movers of discontent, both within and without the assembly, redoubled their exertions; and prudence, no less than temerity, a due respect for the established laws, no less than a desire of infringing them, tended, through the malevolence of those unhappy times, to a dissolution of the new body-politic, and the inevitable event of a revolution. The government was the more to be pitied on this occasion, as it appeared to have provoked the fall of that fabric, the ruins of which were about to crush it. The nobility and the clergy no longer abstained from vaunting aloud the protection it afforded them; and Louis XVI. being now only left the alternative of precipices, fell into many, which he might very likely have avoided.

* The veto given by the king to two decrees; the one of which attached capital punishment to the king's brother, Monsieur, and the other emigrants, who should not return to France within a limited period; the other consisted of an accusation against Messrs. Lameth and Barnave, on account of the opinion delivered by them to the ministers, on the subject of the petition, presented by the members of the department of Paris, respecting the clergy.—Vide *Secret History of the Revolution*, by Mr. Pagès. v. i. p. 443.

Vol. i. p. 450.—Delessart had already been impeached, or rather railed at, several times; he was accused of having been the author of the massacres at Avignon, and the distasters of the *Comtat*. That unhappy country had felt more severely than any other the shocks of the revolution. Abandoned, without means of public defence, to the fury of faction, it had been repeatedly soaked in blood; and every succeeding storm had renewed dreadful scenes, the authors only of which were changed; the unvaried character of ferocity, which distinguished them, remained ever the same. At the very moment when the union of the *Comtat* with the French empire was proclaimed, Lescuyer, secretary of the municipality, was murdered at the foot of the altar. Not many days after, the opposite party, recovering the advantage-ground, one of the most execrable acts that ever sullied an age took place, to swell the historical catalogue of human crimes.

On Sunday the thirty-first of October, many citizens were arrested, and put under confinement in the palace. During the night more than fifty of them were massacred in cool blood one after another; and the mode in which they were slaughtered surpassed, for barbarity, the cruel act of murder itself. Fathers were killed on the bleeding corse of their sons; mothers on those of their daughters; twelve women were ripped open: and all these victims, after
being

mutilated, and their heads struck off, were cut into pieces, and thrust into a vault, serving the purpose of an ice-house, which was immediately mured up.

VOL. i. p. 455.—The powers of Europe would at any rate have availed themselves of the first opportunity, which should have appeared favourable for attacking France. It was therefore only question of examining, whether we were in a state of readiness for undertaking that great contest; or whether, without even being duly prepared, it were not more advantageous to begin the war, than, by waiting, to give time for being attacked. On considering the unsteady, impetuous character of the French nation, we think that it was with prudence decided in favour of the attack; although France was very far from being in a state of readiness, and had reason to expect that she should meet with much treachery. It was politic in the highest degree, to profit of that first start of ardour, so liable afterwards to slacken.* In vain did Robespierre oppose the measure of taking arms: *War was almost unanimously resolved on.*†

VOL.

* Mr. Pagès is not the first who has formed this judgment of the French nation.—Livy is by much his predecessor, when he says, "*Gallorum prima prælia plus quàm virorum, postrema minus quàm fæminarum.*"

† Bonaparte, in his correspondence with the British cabinet in 1799, contradicts this notorious fact, and at the same time denies also, that a spirit of conquest, or an aggressive disposition, has guided the conduct of France, in respect of Europe since her revolutions.

VOL. i. p. 457.—In all those frequent and numerous changes of ministers, a sure symptom of a versatile and ill regulated government, we cannot pass over in silence the circumstance of Servan, Rolland, and Claviere retiring from office; three ministers, who were truly good patriots, and whose talents and probity cannot be doubted: the assembly decreed, that they carried with them the regret of the nation. In the sequel of this work will be seen the tragical end of Rolland and Claviere.—“It is a melancholy remark, which we are obliged to make, that whoever writes the history of the French revolution, can never make mention of almost any eminent character, of which he has not afterwards to relate the fatal catastrophe.” It is no less painful also to observe, that there are few virtuous men: Rolland was the creature of Brissot; Servan that of Petion.

VOL. i. p. 458.—It is necessary to insert here a remark, which escaped our attention, when we attributed to corruption only the lenity used by the constituent body towards the king, on his return from Varennes. The fear of giving too great an ascendant to the Orleans party contributed not a little, and certainly not

lutions. Bonaparte's presumption it seems renders him indifferent to the opinion which the world may form of him; otherwise he could never have hazarded the exposing himself, by making such an assertion.

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without sound policy, to the indulgence shown on that occasion. As for the faction of Orleans, one of the most extensive that ever existed, and to which we are to ascribe almost every calamity that has fallen so heavily on France;—it would have been successful in all its views, had the chief, whom it held up, possessed energy and courage. The Duke of Orleans might, indeed, be said to be the object to which its views were directed; but he could not be considered as the real head of the faction. He was vindictive, cowardly, incapable of forming a conspiracy, which required all the talents of a villain of genius; but he was aided by a council, composed of men of consummate art and depravity.

VOL. i. p. 459.—When afterwards Robespierre seceded from the Orleans party, in order to turn his views to the accomplishing of his own elevation, the club of Cordeliers divided, and most of them were at open war with the Jacobins. The leaders of the former, consisting of Danton and others, continued attached to the Orleans faction; and to that line of conduct Danton owed his ruin. Petion likewise sided with Orleans, although it will be seen that he had previously been of the king's party; as on the tenth of August the monarch placed an entire reliance on him. The revolution of France is attended with this particular circumstance, that it has been directed by several rival factions;
all

all of them equally eager to destroy each other, and bent alike upon raising the public opinion in their favour, by every species of illusion, that could tend to enveigle and mislead the people: —the public interest alone neglected.

VOL. i. p. 463.—We are now arrived at that too memorable day, the twentieth of June, which may be considered as the prelude of those insurrections which have since taken place, especially in Germinal and Prairial 1795. The king had given his negative, with the same imprudence as on former occasions, to the decree for the banishment of the seditious clergy, and for the forming of a camp of twenty thousand men in the vicinity of Paris. On the twentieth of June, the anniversary of the retreat made by the assembly to the tennis court, and of the oath taken there, the inhabitants of the suburbs of *Saint Marceau* and *Saint Antoine* rushed into the middle of the assembly, to the number of fifteen thousand, all armed with pikes and axes. They proceeded from thence to the palace, and demanded that the king should withdraw the negative, or order of suspension, he had given to the decree respecting the seditious clergy, and the camp near Paris; and also that he should restore the patriotic ministers to office. No blood-shed, nor further tumult ensued on this occasion; but, by these frequent commotions, the people gradually became habituated to insur-

surrection. Guadet, and others of the patriotic party, favoured the admission of those armed petitioners into the legislative assembly; and, in so doing, they ceded greatly too much to the conjuncture of affairs; not aware, that on the thirty-first of May following they should themselves fall victims to those malecontents.

VOL. i. p. 467.—Syeies published a letter, which may be found in the *Moniteur*, in which he declared, that he preferred monarchy. “I prefer it,” says he, “because it is clearly demonstrated to my mind, that the citizen enjoys more liberty in a monarchy, than in a republic.” We are to infer thence, that he was a royalist; yet he was for deposing Louis XVI. Who then, did he mean should be king?—d’Orleans. Such, however, is this Janus-faced man, who assured us, that he no more favoured Orleans than Robespierre! As little credit is to be given to his veracity in that assertion, as when he tells us, “that he was all his life a republican; even prior to the revolution.” Syeies kept himself concealed behind the scene as long as he saw a shadow of danger. But no sooner did a party gain the ascendant, than he immediately came forward, and did not fail to attach himself to it. Weaker and more cowardly than Barrere, who did not so far shrink from responsibility as not to accept a public station, he resembled him in having been successively

sively of every faction, through the artifice of favouring all of them by turns.

Revolution the Fourth.

Tenth of August, 1792.

VOL. i. p. 469.—Danton, who, without possessing the talents of Mirabeau, sought to imitate his manners, contributed, in concert with Carra and some others of the Orleans faction, to bring about the transactions of the tenth of August. D'Orleans had promised, in case of success, to create Danton first minister, and to appoint Petion governor of his son. By the conduct of Petion, however, we shall see that he was not without the desire of remaining at the same time upon good terms with the royal family. The insurrection of the tenth of August, like that of the twentieth of June, was brought about for the purpose of deposing the king: in that object, the views of the republicans, and those of the friends of d'Orleans, were

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were the same; but these last were further influenced by a secret motive of action, or rather by one that was very notorious, and well proved by all the events of that day; namely; the murdering of the royal family.

The first of August was the day fixed on by the conspirators for proceeding to action. Louis XVI. since the insurrection of the twentieth of June, never rested but in his clothes; and was nightly in expectation of being murdered. The conspirators were obliged to defer their operations till the tenth of the same month; in order to give time for their being joined by a number of brigands, under the assumed name of Mar-seillois, and by some deluded patriots from the south. Sillery, since the seventh, was come to inhabit lodgings, which he had taken in the suburb of St. Antoine, for the purpose of being more conveniently situated for promoting sedition among the people. The ferment became extreme at Paris: it was reported that the king had sent for a detachment of Swiss soldiers to murder the patriots; and that a chest of arms was kept for that purpose in the castle. On a strict search, however, being made, some packing trunks only were found, in a state of readiness for travelling; but the inquest taken and published on that occasion, was not successful in doing away the public alarm.

Louis XVI. passed all the night between the ninth and tenth of August, up, under the pressure

sure of anxiety, occasioned by the din of the *toctin*, and of the drums beating to arms, which, since midnight, was resounding through the different sections. He had with him four hundred persons armed, all of them equally resolved on defending him to the last drop of their blood. A part of the Swiss regiment was stationed in the court-yard of the palace; the remainder was left at Courbevoïe: a convincing proof that the object looked to by the king was merely defence, and not attack. It appears that there were no cannons in the palace, which had been searched by the magistrates of the people; it is certain, at least, that no use was made of them, if there were any. The number of the Swiss did not exceed nine hundred. The king had taken care to surround himself with members of the administrative bodies, in order to preclude the possibility of his being suspected to be the aggressor. He had summoned Petion, then mayor, to attend him in the palace. On the signal being given by the *toctin*, the *Bretons* and the *Marseillois*, who had remained in Paris ever since the federation of the fourteenth of July, and some others newly come from the south, put themselves at the head of the insurrection. This tumultuary body was composed of persons sold to Orleans, and of hot-brained republicans, who were strangers to the views of their associates.

Vol. i. p. 473.—The insurrection was now becoming general, and battalions were forming with field-pieces at their head. The court, however, did not think proper to wait till the insurgents should have time to muster completely. It is thought that it was Ræderer, *procureur general Syndic* of the department, who, on that day, saved the life of Louis XVI. and the royal family, by advising them to take refuge in the bosom of the legislative body. That measure at once prevented the perpetration of a great crime, and disconcerted, in part, the plans of the Orleans faction.

In the mean while, the national assembly hastened, on the report of Vergniaud, to pass a decree of suspension against Louis XVI. It was confidently asserted, that he had just been deposed amidst the general acclamations of the assembly; but that event had not taken place: he was only suspended. He may be said to have been privy, in a manner, to the deliberations, which were short, on that subject, placed, with the royal family, in a box, allotted to the persons employed in tachygraphy. The report of the discharge of heavy artillery was suddenly heard. "We are betrayed," exclaimed voices on all sides; "to arms! the Swiss are firing on the people, and already an hundred Marseillais lie dead." The engagement, it was true, commenced about ten o'clock in the morning; but it is not easy to determine the precise

manner in which it began. According to the journals, called patriotic, of those times, the Swiss had received, welcomed, regaled, the *Marseillois* and Parisians; and had afterwards assailed them with a general and brisk fire, kept up throughout the ranks, and even from the windows of the palace, which was followed by a discharge of artillery, forming a covered attack. This account appears the less probable, as not a thousand Parisians fell in that affair; nay, the *Marseillois*, who headed them, lost only two hundred men. Louis XVI. was not the aggressor; since it was the faction of Orleans, which stimulated the popular insurrection of that day, in the same manner it had excited that of the twentieth of June. But it is very possible, notwithstanding, that the troops might have received orders from the sovereign to fire, if the Parisians persisted in advancing.

VOL. i. p. 476.—The cavalry and the body of national *gendarmerie* advanced impetuously; and, rushing into the barracks of the Swiss regiment, set fire to the building. Forty horses and twenty-five men remained dead on the spot. The pikes, in conjunction with the bayonet made great havoc on that day. The Swiss were not without field-pieces; but those of the Parisians, managed with greater skill, swept the ranks of the enemy. The slaughter became horrible in the interior of the castle. If

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Parisians displayed great courage and energy during the combat, they now evinced as much rage and cruelty in their triumph. But it must be allowed, that in the multitude, there were many Brigands no otherwise interested in the cause, than inasmuch as they were hirelings of Orleans. Besides, the people is ever the same; an animal gentle, when unprovoked, full of ferocity, when roused and irritated. The vestibule of the palace, the great staircase, the chapel, all the anti-chambers, the lobbies, the state apartment, the council chamber, overflowing with shoals of assailants, were stained with the blood, and strowed with the carcasses of the Swiss, and the domestics of the prince. Popular vengeance appeared in its most horrid aspect. An *abbé*, preceptor of the *dauphin*, had generously and heroically concealed in his apartment eight Swisses; exposing himself by that act, in case of discovery, to the fate of sharing with them an inevitable and cruel death. These unfortunate men lay hidden at the bottom of a spacious closet; but were soon discovered, and, together with their benefactor, inhumanly put to death. Mr. de Clermont Tonerre, was overtaken, and met his fate in the *rue de seves*.

The enraged people spared not a single person, who served in any capacity whatever, within the precincts of the palace. From the head confectioner, down to the last scullion;—all were indiscriminately murdered.

VOL. i. p. 478.—What a picture did Paris present to view at that time, particularly the scene of action!—An insurrection, directed by an infamous and atrocious faction, supported by citizens, who were well meaning, but deluded; the chiefs of rebellion, d'Orleans, Petion, Robespierre, Danton, keeping aloof from danger; a king, determined not to attack, but to revenge an attack made upon him, even at the price of the blood of the citizens; and that king, with his family, remaining also concealed during the massacre! What a picture, moreover, did that day present; an accumulation of carcasses!—The next day, influenced by the fury of the eve, presented scenes of a no better nature: on that day the people betook themselves to the abbey, in order to put to death d'Affri, colonel of the Swiss regiment, who had been confined in that prison, with a view of skreening him from the popular rage. Every Swiss, whom chance on the following days threw into the way of the people, was massacred with cool, premeditated, and inexcusable, ferocity.

VOL. i. p. 479.—At length d'Orleans, who on the twentieth of June, (1792,) as well as on the fifth and sixth of October, 1789, had failed in his purpose to effect the murder of the royal family, having now also miscarried in the same attempt, began gradually to lose his credit. Crime, unattended by success in its pursuit, soon

soon wearies even its partizans. In order to raise the Orleans party, and to depress its enemies by terror, Danton, Petion, Marat, and Manuel contrived the slaughter of the second of September. The legislative assembly unintentionally gave, in some degree, the signal of carnage, by decreeing that the houses of individuals should be searched. Those visits of inquisition being made under the veil of night, the persons marked out by faction, were the more easily carried off; and the prisons in consequence, became glutted with victims. Manuel, till the arrival of the time appointed for massacre, never let a day elapse without personally taking an account of the wretched sufferers in confinement. If any among them addressed a letter either to that monster, or to Petion, he received the following atrociously ambiguous reply: "You will quit the prison "on the second of September;" that was the day appointed for the commencement of the assassinations. A kind of tribunal, instituted in the interior of every prison, served to consign the victims to slaughter; and in the palace of justice, another sanguinary tribunal was established, having influence over the executions ordered by each one in particular. Robespierre and Coffinhal, Lullier, Real, and others, were the persons who composed this tribunal. A committee or directory was moreover appointed; to whose decision recourse was had, in cases

Where any doubt arose on pronouncing whether a prisoner were *anti-Orleaniste*, or not: over that infamous committee, or directory, Marat, Sergeant, and Panis, brother-in-law of Santerre, alternately presided. Danton sent emissaries to Lyons, Meaux, and Rheims; orders were also forwarded to the different departments; and blood began to flow in several of them at the same hour, and by similar processes of cruelty. We shall have occasion hereafter, to revert to those murders; the account of which will with difficulty obtain credit from posterity; yet they were but as a prelude to others, equally sanguinary in their nature, by which we are left at a loss to pronounce whether the former or the latter were most atrocious.

Some persons preserved their life by dint of money. Manuel, amidst his villainy, was not without a species of good faith: his promises were adhered to with fidelity; and he always released those prisoners, for whose deliverance he had received ransom. Fifty thousand crowns were paid him for that of the Princess de Lamballe; and thereupon he instantly gave directions, and took measures in order to her being set at liberty; but in this the genius of Orleans prevailed. That prince was filled with rancour towards the unfortunate Princess de Lamballe; either in consequence of her being the confidential friend of the queen, or on account of her having positively inhibited,
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since the fifth of October, that he should hold any intercourse with her. D'Orleans withal would necessarily become gainer by her death, as a settlement of one hundred thousand crowns, paid to her out of the fortune of the Duchess of Orleans, her sister-in-law, would fall in to him on that event. The duke, therefore, being informed of the bargain which had been concluded with Manuel for her life, lost no time in dispatching to the prison of *La Force* a band of assassins, headed by an Italian, named *Rotondo*, with whom, for the last two years, he had lived in habits of intimacy. The princess expired, after suffering excruciating and protracted tortures.

Revolution the Fifth.

*Abolition of Monarchy, and Proclamation of the Republic.**

Vol. ii. p. 10.—To him who has read with attention the events which have succeeded one another during the course of the two first assemblies; and who through the narrative of this history, as far as the present period, has followed with an observing eye, the shocks produced by the concussion of different factions, together with the particular views of each one, it will seem matter of astonishment, that they should have agreed unanimously in proclaiming the republic, by a decree, which in its nature, was repugnant to the inmost thought of every one. This will appear the more surprising, when it shall be known, that some letters of Fauchet are extant, which profess the purest

* The decree confirming the abolition of monarchy, was passed on the opening of the sittings of the national convention, September 21, 1792. (Vide *Secret History of the Revolution of France*, by Mr. Pagès, vol. ii. p. 9.)—The principles, which lead to this decree, produced also that proclaiming the republic immediately after.

monarchical principles; that Syeies withal confined his opinion on the subject of revolution, to a change of dynasty; that Mirabeau entertained the same sentiments; and as for Brissot; the opinion he expressed in the national assembly a few days previous to the tenth of August, was verbatim as follows: "We are told," said he, "of a faction, which aims at establishing a republic. If there exist such regicide republicans; if there are really those, whose endeavours tend to such an object; the sword of the law ought to be raised, no less against them, than against the active friends of two houses of legislature."

Vol. ii. p. 14.—Some voted for the republic,* through the fear they entertained of d'Orleans being advanced to the throne; others in order to avoid the appearance of being attached to the Orleans faction. All of them, however, looked alike, either to acquiring or preserving popularity. It was thus, as Robespierre very

* To follow Mr. Pagès in the irksome detail of all the factions, which formed the basis of the democratical usurpation, is here purposely avoided: they clash in such confused mazes of complicated and contending interests, under the appellations of *Orleanistes*, *Girondins*, *Brissotins*, *Robespierriens*, &c. &c.; that, to speak the language of chemists, we have passed over the course of process, and arrived at once, at the moment of projection, which determines the operation; Thus, the article fourteen (above) will fully, it is presumed, determine in the Reader's mind the complexion of the events, as well as the views of the artful and ambitious individuals, by whose machinations, the usurpation was effected.

justly afterwards observed, that the republic slid in by stealth, between the different contending factions.*

VOL. ii. p. 15.—The imperfection of numerous bodies lies in their being composed, to a great degree, of elements heterogeneous, and consequently discordant, in their nature. What was not to be apprehended from an assembly, in which the people, almost constantly deluded in the objects of its choice, had selected so anarchical a writer as Marat; a being so immoral as Collot d'Herbois, so ambitious and ferocious as Robespierre, a political chameleon like Barrere; monsters so sanguinary as Danton and Petion; so raving a demagogue as Camille des Moulins (who at first had even served the Orleans party;) beside so many others, whose names and crimes will become too well known in the sequel of this history; and in speaking of whom, if we vary our epithets, it is merely for the sake of avoiding a tiresome monotony;

* This is the august and dignified unanimity, with which Mr. Pagès boasts that monarchy was abolished, and a republic established. (*Vide Secret History of the Revolution of France*, vol. ii. p. 9.)—So difficult is it not to fall into contradictions, during the course of a long defence of a bad cause! But this is only one of many instances, in which the imagination of Mr. Pagès induces him to pronounce with emphasis, that the revolution is a glorious event; and the secret dictates of his conscience, wring from him demonstrative confession, that his countrymen have made it an execrable one.

as all of them were in an equal degree sanguinary, anarchical, and criminal.

VOL. ii. p. 17.—But* after all ;—what matters it, with respect to the destiny of a great people, that we be more or less exactly made acquainted with the character of a crowd of villains, who have tinged the soil of France with blood, and turned liberty into a fury? We think it, however, incumbent upon us, to expatiate a little in regard to Marat and Robespierre, the two persons, who have played the most glaring part in the convention; since the one attained dictatorial power, and the other was deified after his death. It is a singular circumstance attending those two men, that they should both be possessed but of very moderate talents.

VOL. ii. p. 18.—But audacity succeeds better than real merit: both Marat, and Robespierre, though naturally of a dastardly nature, possessed all the boldness attendant on crime, as long as they saw themselves supported by a strong party.

IBID.—Notwithstanding their cowardly nature, and the mediocrity of their genius, Marat

* This is the concluding paragraph of a series of observations on the same subject as the preceding article, viz;—the character of the leaders of the revolution.

and

and Robespierre may be ranked among those characters, prominent in villainy, which without impropriety can be termed phenomena of crime; they would have drenched themselves, had it been in their power, with the blood of the whole world; the former, through the bent of his nature, which, resembling that of carnivorous wild beasts, lusted for gore; the second, in order to flake in blood his vindictive and malignant passions, especially that base envy, engendered by the consciousness of his inferior abilities, which, seeking the destruction of every thing, that could in any degree obscure his reputation, inspired him with the desire of reigning solitary sovereign over ruins and carcasses. He had moreover, unfortunately, conceived a wish of acquiring a reputation in the republic of letters. Thence originated his persecution of literary men; which description of persons, he well knew to be naturally averse from oppression of every kind, and capable of appreciating his tyranny. Marat, born in a small hamlet, near Neufchatel, might, for the littleness and deformity of his person, as well as the ugliness of his features, be compared to Therfites; and if he possessed the homeliness of figure, he inherited also in a no less degree the turn of character belonging to the Greek. He was originally a quack, or very obscure physician, subsisting at Paris by charity, or at the expense of the dupes to his artifice. When the

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volcano of the revolution had thrown up to light the scum of the French nation, Marat became conspicuous for the audacity, rather than the merit of his periodical publications, D'Orleans conciliated him to his interest; from which time he, who had subsisted on eleemosynary donations, and by dint of his professional quackery, lived by his poniard, that is to say, by the blood which his pen occasioned to flow. He reaped, no less than Robespierre, the atrocious satisfaction of having been personally engaged in the shedding of blood, by the influence he had born in the massacres of the second of September. Marat, after having served for some time as the tool of d'Orleans, was beginning to turn his thoughts towards the dictatorship, when Charlotte Cordai delivered France of such a monster.

VOL. ii. p. 20.—If Robespierre possessed neither the genius, nor the courage of a Cromwell nor a Catilina, he nevertheless surpassed them in hypocrisy and deep dissimulation. We thought him for a long time devoid of all ambition, except that of passing for a rigid republican: his colleagues too, concurred in opinion with us, as to the disinterestedness of his sentiments. It remains even to this day a doubt in our mind, whether he was not at first a sincere partizan of d'Orleans; and whether it might not be by an effect of second consideration, that,

that, on seeing with what facility men of moderate abilities, by audacity alone, gained the lead over those in the convention, who were possessed of true eloquence, he thought, not without reason, that his abilities were full as good as those of a Marat, or a Danton; and that he needed only a little assurance and loquacity, to become likewise a leader of faction.

VOL. ii. p. 21.—Hatred and envy were the predominant passions of Robespierre; he was even more malevolent than ambitious; and, far from endeavouring, like most usurpers, and even like Cromwell himself, to conciliate the public mind to his elevation, and to gain partizans to his cause, he proscribed indiscriminately both friends and foes. In all his views, he trusted solely to the pressure of terror, as the only spring of action known to him; not aware that the power of that spring is less durable in its nature, from the circumstance of its tension,

VOL. ii. p. 22.—It is not irrelevant of our subject in this place to remark, that the most fatal of every possible species of ascendant, which the choice of a people can induce them to stoop under, is that of those pretended orators or speakers, who in all times have deluded the multitude; from the period of the primary elective bodies, to that, when the restrums of the national assemblies were established. The political

tical writers of antiquity are agreed that, the chief defect of a democratical form of government, is, the almost magick power of the orators in public deliberations. Their loquacity (for the term of eloquence belongs but to the discourses of two or three orators in the world,) was used to be compared, sometimes to the insidious voice of syrens, sometimes to the confused and portentous grumblings of distant thunders: it overpowered, did not persuade; it stunned by clamour, did not convince by reasoning: vociferations and abuse held the place of eloquence; and the contention was rather maintained by dint of pulmonary strength, than by any force of logic.

Vol. ii. p. 24.—We cannot but make another observation, no less important in its nature, and confirmed by the experience of our revolution, which is, that all great seditions, or insurrections, numerous massacres, enormous crimes, are generally conducted and executed, by persons of low extraction. Under Charles V. the rising of the towns of Castile, called the Communinades, was headed at Medina del Campo by a shearer; at Salamanca by a skinner; at Valencia by a carder; at Segovia by a tanner. Among us, Leclerc was one of the most ardent firebrands in the war of the league; and Peter Broussel, a counsellor of no celebrity, became the idol, and oracle, of the war of the *fronde*. If we take a survey

survey of the principal agents, first, of the Orleans faction, then of the decemvirate; if we call to mind the authors of the massacres of the second of September, and of those which have since taken place; we shall meet with the same description of persons; a Petion, a Marat, a Robespierre, sprung from nothing, become great arbiters of justice; and like the cobbler of Mesfina, constituted at once both judges and executioners, by their individual authority.

In giving an account of the first sitting of the national convention, we felt our soul expand for a moment. But on observing that the same assembly was soon after changed into an amphitheatre of gladiators, or rather was become a band of cut-throats; for those composing it merited not the appellation of gladiators, who fought in open day, man to man, armed alike, valorous and free from treachery; and on calling to mind that crowd of pro-consuls, and petty tyrants, who were the cause of torrents of human blood being spilt, the pen had nearly dropped from our hand. The historian, who, excepting military transactions, till the ninth Thermidor, and even subsequent to that remarkable day, has only crimes to enumerate, acts of treachery to relate, factions, criminal intrigues to unravel, assassinations to rehearse, is condemned to a task arduous, painful, and pregnant with difficulties and disgusting subjects. We will endeavour, notwithstanding, to perform

form that odious task; and carefully collect those instances of the perversity of human nature, for the instruction of posterity, who will thereby learn what evils and scourges are attendant on a democracy, when it shall not be balanced by the system of two houses of legislature, and a proportioned division of powers.

At this period in the history of our revolution, will be seen a vast and populous empire, falling a prey to the arbitrary power, and rapacious spirit of vile and daring despots, under the specious appellations of committees of public welfare, of general safety, and revolutionary armies: all which establishments might more properly have been termed counter-revolutionary measures; as nothing could be better calculated to disgust the people of the revolution, and to throw them back into the arms of one power. Now will be seen the unprecedented instance of delegates of a civilized and enlightened people beheading, shattering to atoms with case shot, drowning, shooting their fellow citizens, without any previous form of trial, or, what is still more atrocious, under the semblance of one, and in the sacred name of law. Every species of tyranny is similar in its nature; thus, all tyrants, like our decemvirs, have employed the bloody weapon of terror. But a nation, slaughtered by its very representatives, its magistrates, is a feature unhappily peculiar to the present history, and

which would be looked for in vain throughout the records of the remotest antiquity. Those numerous societies too, calling themselves popular, preaching and practising plunder, drawing a subsistence from informing against their brethren, and living by the devastation of the poniard, form a circumstance no less remarkable. That those societies also were hired with the express view to those purposes, we shall prove by irrefragable evidence in the course of our narrative. — — — — —

This history is rendered the more unlike any other, inasmuch as there never was seen in any country of the world, a society, which prepared its poisons, or wove its plots so artfully as the Jacobins. Their directory eluded the penetration of adepts themselves. As a general causes his army to be preceded by an advanced-guard, so the Jacobins began by spreading in the public mind from time to time, notions, which were to serve as the precursors of the rear phalanx of their remoter meaning. In that directory was also concerted the tenour of the discourses which were to be delivered from the rostrum of the national assembly. Attention was even had to filling the galleries with persons of both sexes, hired for the purpose of hooting, or applauding the different orators: their yells, accompanied with the clattering of their feet, formed a din that can only be conceived by those who heard it. I know not whether

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whether it was by a sanguinary instinct, or by design, that the Jacobins adopted a red cap, similar in figure to that worn by galley-slaves. The cap of liberty at ancient Rome was white; among the Swiss it was blue. The Jacobins have been compared to the Gueux of the Low Countries; to the levellers, or round heads, who infested England in former times; and finally to the brotherhood of free-masons. These comparisons, however, are just only in some points of view; for, though their principles of devastation are the same, the Jacobins are not indebted to any of these for their origin.*

VOL. ii. p. 31.—History furnishes no events of similar ferocity to those which we have witnessed. We had hitherto seen fanatics of one party, sacrificing the bigots of an opposite sect. —In those instances, however, the parties, who thus attacked each other, were at least rivals; and in every country of the earth, the slaughtering arm of tyrants has confined its strokes either to those, whose opposite interests furnished matter of contention, or, whose wealth became an

* Thus their illustrious origin is left without being ascertained. If Mr. Pagès had looked into *Milton's Paradise Lost*, he would have traced the pedigree of the Jacobins, and found thier lineal descent from *sin* and *death*. Surely their great progenitor Satan had France in view, when, addressing sin and death, he says:

— “ There shall ye be fed and filled
“ Immeasurably, all things shall be your prey.”

object of envy to them. But in our days the poor have been put to death as well as the rich, the ignorant as well as the learned, the patriotic as well as the aristocratic; in short, the unhappy defenceless prisoners, without fortune, and most of them wholly unknown to their murderers, could not escape a similar fate: terror hung alike over the assassin, and over him who was about to be assassinated. Blood was shed for the mere pleasure of spilling it; and the murderers seemed at a loss to determine, to which party they should hire their service. You were imprisoned, first, for being *moderate*, or *indulgent*; then, for being of *ultra-revolutionary* principles; afterwards, because you were *Terroriste* or *Jacobin*; or merely because you professed revolutionary sentiments. Finally, you were imprisoned, if you appeared suspicious in the mind of any one, who pleased to consider you in that light. Under Robespierre you were reckoned a *Federaliste* if you only expressed disapprobation of the transactions of the thirty-first of May; and after the ninth Thermidor, you would have been persecuted, had you been known to have co-operated in the violences of that day. It is generally allowed, that there is no state more calamitous than that of a people under the operation of a revolution, followed by a contrary revolution or re-action. What then must be our sufferings, who have experienced so *many revolutions*?

VOL. ii. p. 38.—The Jacobins, and, by their example, the ministers themselves affected the greatest simplicity, not to say uncleanness, in their exterior appearance. Public offices and employs were filled by persons wholly incapable of executing the duties of them. The perverting of the national character, by thus debasing the mode of dress, and the style of language; by substituting on a sudden in the room of education, politeness, elegance, and urbanity, the speech, apparel, habits, and cynic manners of the lowest classes of the people, was a scheme of consummate art. The conception of that scheme drew its origin from a system of policy, as deep as it was insidious on the part of those, who aimed at levelling every thing except their fortunes; and aspired only at procuring their own elevation, through the means of the people, who never fail to become at once the tool and victim of the ambitious. The denunciation of men of wealth, and of merchants, under the pretence of their being suspected persons, was a measure afterwards resorted to. The mother-society, the Jacobins, circulated its principles and caused them to be adopted with celerity, through the medium of the affiliated clubs.

Revolution the Sixth.

Death of the King.

VOL. ii. p. 68.—The remaining sparks of justice and humanity raised a glow in the face of every member of the convention, when Desfèze, one of the three persons, chosen by the monarch, for the purpose of pleading his cause on his trial, used in his eloquent discourse on that occasion, these memorable words: “Excuse the frankness of a free man; but I cannot refrain from saying, that I look among you with the expectation of finding judges, and can only discover accusers.”

We cannot but confess, that it appeared a circumstance very additionally shocking in its nature, that the deputies in the convention, especially those who voted for the death of Louis XVI., should be shameless enough to print and publish their opinion, long before the trial took place; supporting it at the same time, by the aggravation of every article of accusation that could press most heavily to the charge of the defendant: by doing this, each one individually

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constituted himself an accusing party. Was it unknown to them, that every judge, who has previously delivered an opinion on a case, is not only liable to be challenged, but ought even to abstain from passing judgment in that case, what though he should not formally be objected to? It was also a duty incumbent on the assembly, to have ordered d'Orleans to secede from the trial. That deputy, as dull of understanding as ferocious of nature, could not comprehend, that the conduct he was pursuing would plunge him unnecessarily into an additional depth of infamy; which disgrace he might the more easily have avoided, as he could not but be well assured that the victim would not escape his fang.

It has been asserted, but we do not vouch for the fact, that d'Orleans, hearing that Pelletier de Saint Fargeau had given a dinner to twenty-five of his colleagues, with the intention of prevailing upon them, not to vote for the king's death, and that he had bound himself by a solemn promise to a similar conduct, went to St. Fargeau, saying; "you will bring upon you immediate perdition, if you do not vote for the death of the king; persuade your friends withal to the same effect, and I promise you alliance with my family." Saint Fargeau, either allured, or intimidated, prevailed on his friends to alter their resolution. If this be a fact, those few words of d'Orleans

gained over twenty-six voices in favour of the sentence of death; and it must be owned that the anecdote derives a considerable degree of probability from the circumstance of St. Fargeau being the only deputy, who received his death on account of having delivered a suffrage to that effect. Had he not been guilty of that perfidy, the assassin would doubtless have selected deputies of greater note in that affair. On the eve of the execution of Louis XVI., St. Fargeau was at dinner in a coffee-house of the palais royal, when a man, accosting him, said: "You had given your word of honour, that you and twenty-five friends would not vote for the death of the king. You have since bartered your suffrage, as well as that of those friends; receive now, wretch, the price of your perjury." In uttering these words, he plunged a dagger in his heart.

VOL. ii. p. 72. — — — —; in short, it certainly did not appertain to the convention to try the king.—He was put to death on the twenty-first day of January, 1793. — — — —

A majority of only five voices, consigned to death the heir of sixty-six monarchs. He had restored, though not perhaps quite voluntarily, to France her national assemblies; three of which were convened during his reign. The first

first stript him of his authority; the second of his liberty; the third of his life.

Revolution the Seventh.*

*Tumults of the thirty-first of May, 1793, or the
Establishment of the Decemvirate.*

VOL. ii. p. 143.—The twelve commissioners were in possession of information, that meetings were

* It does not come within the scope of our present work, to give an historical account of the events which brought about the establishment of the decemvirate, any more than of those which contributed to the other revolutions. We therefore refer our curious Reader for those details to the many historians, who have written on that subject. It will suffice if we observe, that the faction of Orleans, as also that of the Jacobins, and the sections of Paris; the ambition of Orleans, Robespierre, and Marat, directing those factions severally to their respective object of usurping the supreme executive power; (whether under the denomination of tribune, dictator, decemviri; triumviri; or, like Bonaparte, under that of chief consul,) it will suffice if we observe, that all those parties struggled in the writhing folds of factious contention, wounding and wounded alternately. Desfieux on one hand proposed, " that
" all

were formed at Charenten, in which Robespierre and Danton bore a principal part:* the committee of public welfare had received the like intelligence: in short, the term destined to be fatal to liberty was arrived. Groups of people were collected in the different passages leading to the national convention; insomuch, that the members could neither pass nor repass without being molested and threatened by crowds of ill-designing persons, whose only aim was slaughter. The mayor, on being sent for by the conven-

"all the Brissotins, Girondins, Rollandins, &c. should be made sacred;" in order to which, he requested the appointment of a revolutionary tribunal. Hebert, on the other hand, required the decapitation of every general in command, as also of all the members of the executive council: and afterwards proceeded to announce an intended massacre, similar to that of St. Bartholemew.—*Vide Secret History of the Revolution*, by Mr. Pagès, v. ii. p. 142, 143.

The murders, severally and in mass, which took place both at Paris and in the departments, it is neither an easy, nor surely a pleasing task to enumerate. We have selected however a few of them, which are ranged under the head of the seventh revolution. So general was the slaughter, that really one would suppose that the decemvirate knew no limit to the spirit of murder, which animated it, except that one, which Florus tells us, in the Marian civil war, was admitted by Turfidius; "*vivere aliquos debere, ut essent, quibus imperarent.*"

Respecting the term *decemvirate* employed to denote the tyranny of the Jacobin faction, Mr. Pagès in his *Secret History* has the following Note, vol. ii. p. 202: "We have employed the term decemvirate, as a general one. Our tyrants never formed the precise number of ten: sometimes they were three, sometimes six; and often more."

* In order to obtain every information that could throw light on the conspiracies which were forming by the different factions, twelve persons were appointed under a commission from the Convention.

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tion, declared that no plot existed; that there was no intention entertained of ringing the *tocfin*; that all was tranquil; and that the convention might rely on his zeal for its safety: it was, notwithstanding, at his house that the meetings had been held by the enemies of the convention. The *procureur general Syndic of the department* denied also that any conspiracy existed, and continued obstinate in giving assurances that all Paris remained in a tranquil state; although murmurs of rage resounded in the avenues leading to the convention, and even ruffians were threatening, with loud vociferations, vengeance against the body of national representatives. The minister of the interior concurred with the magistrates in maintaining that he saw no indication of any approaching interruption of the public peace. Thus, it is evident, that all the constituted authorities were participant in the conspiracy. It was at no more distant a period than in the night between the thirtieth and thirty-first of May, that the *tocfin* was heard to ring the alarm from the quarter of the city.* The convention

* It was on the thirty-first of May, and the first and second of June 1793, that the insurrections took place, in which the conspiring commune of Paris triumphed, and the tyranny of Robespierre was established. On the last of those days, conspirators at the head of the armed sections, marched against the convention, and obtained by force the proscription of twenty-nine of those deputies, who were most conspicuous by their probity, and the opposition they made to faction; that number was afterwards greatly increased.

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now saw itself surrounded by a multitude of deluded citizens; and the assassin Henriot, who commanded the armed force of the insurgents, appeared at the head of his accomplices in the murders of the second and third of September.

VOL. ii. p. 145.—In short, twenty-nine deputies were proscribed, which number comprised those, who, both in the rostrum as well as in their writings, had combated the factious leaders of sedition and anarchy. It was that day which opened a road to the tyranny of Robespierre, who, encreasing in boldness, soon after forsook the party of d'Orleans to ensure his own elevation.

VOL. ii. p. 150.—It was agreed that the counter-part of the scenes, acted at Paris between the conspirators and the convention, should take place at Lyons; and the management of them was entrusted to a person named Chalier, a Piedmontese by birth, and a fraudulent bankrupt by calling. The commune of Paris sent him to Lyons, directly after the massacres of the third of September; and he began the exercise of his mission by the murder of five prisoners, who had been put under confinement by order of the municipality for some trivial offence. His plan of purging the city consisted in placing, the day after his arrival, a guillotine on one of the bridges, and
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(to use the revolution style of language) leveling all the wealthy merchants, by laying their neck beneath that instrument of death. The well disposed citizens had recourse to repelling those sanguinary executions by every mean in their power. Chalier had just been appointed procureur of the commune; and, being informed of the progress of the conspiracy entered into at Paris, declared, on the twenty-seventh of May, in the middle of the popular assembly of Lyons, that all the rich individuals of the town should be beheaded the next day. The two parties, that of the citizens, and that of the assassins, took arms; and, coming to action, victory, after a long and bloody struggle, declared in favour of the citizens. Chalier was condemned to death.

Revolution the Eighth,

*Constitution of 1793.**

VOL. ii. p. 151.—The first article of accusation preferred against those deputies, who had remained under confinement since the second of June, was founded on the opposition, which it was pretended they had made to a republican form of government. The fact loudly contradicted that aspersions; since, after the labour of some months, those very deputies had presented a constitutional code to the convention, who decreed that it should be made public; but the conspirators were deeply interested in putting a stop to all further discussion on the subject. Nevertheless, as it was the general opinion that the promulgation of a constitution was the only remedy left to all the evils of the state, they engaged to produce one in the course of a fort-

* This constitution paid its debt to faction rather more precipitately than the others: it was smothered almost as soon as promulgated, by the faction which triumphed on the thirty-first of May. Although the overthrow of this constitution forms a very marked *revolution* in the eventful history of the *revolutions* before us; yet, its ephemeral existence not giving room to any incidents, the whole action of the piece is comprised in its catastrophe. We therefore shift the scene (as does also Mr. Pagès) to the establishment of the *revolutionary government*, or the ninth revolution; which, by an uninterrupted succession of shocking events and crimes, makes ample amends to the demon of discord for the chasm of the last revolution.

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night; and indeed fulfilled their promise within the mentioned time: but were the first themselves, shortly after, to lay that constitution aside; and, drawing a veil over the rights of man, boldly to proclaim, under the title of

REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT,

(Revolution the Ninth,)

a new species of tyranny. That term has since served to legalize the violation of every principle, and to sanction acts of murder, plunder, fustillades, &c.

VOL. ii. p. 165.—The rapacity of the tyrants induced them to confiscate the property of Claviere,* as if he had been condemned after a form of trial. Owing to that rapacity, the guillotine acquired the appellation of the *Minister of finance*. The act of inflicting death by the mean of that instrument, was, according to the expression of Barrere, “coining on the *Place de la revolution*.”

VOL. ii. p. 166.—What talents have been lost by the axe of the dictators! How keen the regret which arises in every feeling and enlightened mind, on learning the deplorable end

* Claviere, under impeachment, killed himself in prison, to avoid falling a victim to the tyrannical forms of his persecutors.

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of Condorcet, author of *An Essay on the Progress of the Human Mind towards Perfection*; one of the best works written since the revolution! on knowing the fate of Roucher, who published a Poem entitled, *The Months*, replete with sublime beauties, especially the first cantos! on hearing that a like fate overtook Lavoisier, the celebrated chemist; Bailly, indefatigable in astronomical researches; Linguet, and so many others! Robespierre persecuted also general Miranda, a native of Peru, and well known in Europe by the dauntless spirit of philosophy, which induced him to employ a great part of his life in travelling over the four quarters of the globe.

VOL. ii. p. 168.—In proportion as we advance in this dismal history, the scene becomes darker, the picture assumes a deeper tint of blood; and horrible events are accumulated. The tyrant, emboldened by success, and intoxicated with his omnipotence, ended by disdaining even to preserve the appearance of form in his proceedings. Decimating more and more the convention, and the nation at large, he at length accelerated the moment, when humanity, rescued from his sanguinary reign, was allowed a pause from so much suffering. In the short, but yet greatly too long time, which elapsed before the fall of Robespierre, it will be seen, that

that the despot, no longer contenting himself with slaughtering the victims in detail, proceeded to murder them in a mass. May the picture which we are about to draw of crimes, so multifarious and daring in their nature, form matter of instruction to future generations! But alas! history, which Bolingbroke terms a course of philosophy, remains ever unknown to the greater number of mankind; and from ignorance the misery of the world proceeds,

VOL. ii. p. 169.—How bloody a career we have to run! What a train of afflicting ideas we must encounter during the recital of those crimes which it becomes us, notwithstanding, to transmit to posterity; both for the purpose of holding up their authors to its just abhorrence, and in order to convey to our descendants instruction from the lesson of facts. The Reader must with us overcome the disgust excited by the detail of so many horrid events, if he wishes to gain a knowledge of the furthest bounds of perversity, at which human nature can arrive. Robespierre, in order that with more hasty strides he might advance towards the dictatorship, abandoned at last the faction of Orleans, which had been the cause of so many evils; and brought Orleans himself before the revolutionary tribunal of Paris. We have given

an account of the death of that prince;* whose end seems to have taken place for the purpose only of making way for the intrigues of a still more ferocious conspirator. Robespierre, Couthon, St. Just, and Barrere, had rendered permanent their situations in the committee of public welfare. Billaud Varenne, more sanguinary in his nature, if possible, than the rest of his associates, presided, together with Amar and some others of the same cast, in the committee of general safety. We should yet groan, perhaps, beneath their iron yoke, had not disunion crept in among the tyrants; who became divided, either through jealousy of power, or a clashing of different opinions, as to the mode of oppression to be employed; or finally, from a want of unanimity in forming their choice of victims. Unhappily that spirit of division, to which alone is owing the preservation of the republic, manifested itself only a short time before the ninth Thermidor, (in the third year) or the twenty-seventh of July, 1794; and we have to relate the guilty transactions which occurred during a space of about eighteen months, dating from the second of September, 1792, the commencement of the assassinations committed by Robespierre. After the thirty-first of May

* The detail of the trials (he was twice tried; once at Marseilles, and once at Paris) and execution of the Duke of Orleans is omitted in this work.—The only fact, interesting, which regards him, is here mentioned, viz. "that he exists no longer."

his tyranny knew no bounds; and it was settled by the Jacobins, that terror should be the order of the day: which decree implied, in other words, a renewal of the proscriptions of Marius and Sylla.

VOL. ii. p. 174.—The anarchical Hebert, author of an obscene and sanguinary journal, entitled, *Father du Peuple*, fell a victim to his own Machiavelian contrivances. The same fate was reserved for Gobet, bishop of Paris, and some others, who had been foremost to give the dangerous example of taking away all idea of religion from the mind of the people, by abjuring their character of priests.

VOL. ii. p. 175.—Was not such a measure* likely to furnish fresh weapons, and new pretences of license to ill disposed persons? and did they not take occasion to spread abroad, not without some ground of reason, a report that all religion was about to be destroyed? Can the propagating of hopeless doctrines be a justifiable act? Ought we to take away from the people so necessary a curb to the passions, the only one indeed calculated to restrain the secret perpetration of crime? The authors of this new and scandalous measure were instigated to it, by the

* The measure, here alluded to, is, the eradicating all idea of religion from the mind of the people.—Vide the preceding article 174.—

double motive, first, of exciting religious commotions, and thereby encreasing the prevalent anarchy; secondly, of plundering the immense riches of the churches. The failure of the former of these projects is to be ascribed to the deeply implanted terror, which so far oppressed the public mind, that the people beheld the objects of their worship and reverence trampled under foot, without betraying any signs of indignation:—on the contrary, they testified a tacit satisfaction at the sight.

VOL. ii. p. 176.—The sittings of the national convention passed away in giving admittance to the sections of Paris, to whole *communes*, and to persons from the country, both men, women, and children, who thronged into the hall, habited, through derision, in sacerdotal garments, which afterwards throwing off they trod under foot. Thus the dictators, more fortunate in the issue of the second of their plans, succeeded in possessing themselves of all the treasures of the churches. It has been said that Robespierre, by putting religious ceremonies in a contemptible point of view, and thus destroying the received form of worship, thought that he should be able, afterwards, the more easily to substitute any other, which it might better please him to establish in its room. But he did not see deep enough into things, to be able to form such a plan. It must be owned
never-

nevertheless, that if he did not possess the ingenuity to bring about circumstances according to his wishes, he at least knew how to avail himself of those which fortune presented to him. He no sooner perceived the facility with which the people were brought to renounce, as it were, their divinities, than he conceived the project of playing a part similar to that of Mahomet. He endeavoured also, as occasion required, to derive support from the credulity of the people; and sought even to gain the priests on his side. In this view, he proposed to the national convention in a long discourse, which is the best of his compositions, the passing of a decree, by which the convention should acknowledge the existence of a Supreme Being, and the immortality of the soul; and, in order that he might commence by uniting the character of high pontiff with that of dictator, he caused himself to be named president of the national convention, for performing the honours at the feast of the supreme being.* That man of mean abilities, yet vain, considered himself a second Mahomet, because in the eighteenth century he announced as a novelty the existence

* Here is another point of resemblance between the dictator Robespierre and the chief consul Bonaparte. They both employ religion as the machinery by which to accomplish their interested views of the moment. It must be confessed, however, that Robespierre has greatly the advantage over Bonaparte, in his choice of the part he should play, in as much as a *profelyte*, is a more plausible personage, than an *apostate*.

of a Deity, and the immortality of the soul. It is difficult on this occasion to pronounce, whether our surprise ought rather to be excited at the infatuation and impudence of Robespierre, or at the servility, apathy, and stupidity of the convention. We can only say, that very additional force is thus derived to the truth of the position we have already advanced, and which we cannot too often repeat; that the judgment of a numerous assembly, however enlightened the individuals who compose it may be, is frequently most vulgar in its operation; owing to the circumstance alone of its being numerous. That cannibal, whose hands, stained with the blood of his fellow-creatures, offered up an incense to the Divinity, which was much rather directed to himself, caused moreover a decree to pass the assembly, declaring "probity and virtue to be the order of the day." What appellation, once more, ought we to give to so much arrogance shown on the one side, and so great weakness discovered on the other? Was there not an insult tacitly implied towards the assembly, in thus indirectly saying, that it had not till then made virtue the order of the day? Besides—"to make virtue the order of the day;"—What a turn of expression! how quaint! and that expression, too, coming from one, who was murdering at the same time his brother citizens! Was not this adding blasphemy and irony, to savage ferocity?

But

But that ironical and insulting style of speech, which is the excess of cruelty, was generally practised towards their victims, by all those monsters, whom the ebullition of the revolution had thrown up to the surface of action. When any one of the pro-consuls, sent by the tyrants into the departments, for the purpose of accelerating the action of the guillotine in those parts, had done a good day's work, or, to use their own expression, had *levelled* (that is to say, beheaded,) a great many persons; he wrote word, "we have made this country keep pæce
" with the others; we have raised it to the re-
" volution-pitch; we have forced the rich to
" dance a good carmagnol;—the holy guillotine
" goes on well.

VOL. ii. p. 179.—When any unhappy wretch, brought before the revolutionary tribunal, attempted to plead in his defence, the president stopped him, saying, "Thou hast not leave to
" speak." That expression, usually employed by the president of the national convention, was now adopted by the judges, whose pride, no less than their desire of imitating, or rather degrading by a derisive allusion, the convention, induced them to use it in the course of those juridical proceedings, or rather assassinations, which Barrere termed *acerb forms*. The same Barrere, employing again the fulsome and atrocious language of Sneer, audaciously said one day

day in the middle of the convention, "that it
 "would be necessary to employ the guillotine
 "a great deal, and to make much use of those
 "acerb forms; because," added he, "dead men
 "never return." The *Roman History*, even in the
 times of Catilina, Nero, or Tiberius, furnishes
 no example of so gross a violation of decency.

VOL. ii. p. 180.—Is it possible, we used to
 say within ourselves, that an enlightened and all
 powerful assembly, nay, that a whole nation,
 should continue blind to the streams of inno-
 cent blood, which the most execrable and
 inconceivably monstrous tyranny incessantly
 causes to flow; nor see that liberty, in whose
 name those enormities are committed, becomes
 consequently odious, and loses her existence,
 instead of acquiring strength? How is it possi-
 ble there can be any forbearance shown to-
 wards that bevy of ignorant, ferocious, and kna-
 vish upstarts; that multitude of executioners,
 both in a principal and subordinate capacity;
 those committees and armies, termed revoluti-
 onary? How can France patiently behold more
 than twenty thousand citizens shot, drowned,
 assassinated in a hundred different ways?—In
 short, death dwelling upon every tongue, painted
 in every countenance, and daubed upon every
 wall?

VOL. ii. p. 181.—What calamitous times!
 A horde

A horde of anthropophagi, destroyers of mankind, over-running France from one end to the other; and, abetted by others, who might properly be called the dregs of nations, the scum of cities, the refuse of the country, proclaiming an Agrarian law, the abolition of debts, and a proscription of the rich! The persons, thus bent upon destroying all order of society, were headed by men not wholly destitute of talents, but who fascinated the eye of the people by imposture, and fought with the usual weapons of informers.

VOL. ii. p. 182.—When a country falls a prey to a crowd of tyrants and assassins; to men, possessing nothing, knowing nothing, sprung of nothing, and yet who have notwithstanding attained to every thing; the moral ideas of a nation, under such a predicament, lose their vigour; the people in proportion as they begin to entertain apprehensions of their safety and property, sink into stupor, become timid, afterwards dissimulate, and finally torpid: and, unless some unforeseen and critical event take place, to restore the public mind to its wonted tone; they fall at last into the most degrading state of slavery. These are the only reasons, that can account for the strange phenomenon, which then appeared in the meanness, as well as torpor, of the senate and the nation. Terror hovered alike over both. The magical
and

and ever potent words country, liberty, public welfare, conspiracies, did not fail of their usual efficacy in imposing upon the mind of the multitude: from those words was derived the chief power of the tyrants.

VOL. ii. p. 184.—Innovation in government, while it gives birth to a new turn of thought, intails necessarily a change also in the language; but the creating of a new word belongs only to genius and taste combined. In order to justify such a creation, it is necessary either that no other known word could supply its place, or at least that the new one should be more sonorous, more impressive, and should give a greater rapidity of expression to the language, or render it more harmonious: and even then, such innovations ought to be sparingly made use of, lest by them we should render obsolete and unintelligible a language, hallowed by the authority of so many master-pieces of genius, that have been composed in it. — — — — —

Our language is said to be poor, but with the aid of metaphor and trope, and with strength of genius, a language is rich enough. In reading the works of great masters, it will easily be perceived whether they have been impeded in expressing their ideas, through their not being furnished with the words *appitoyer*, &c.—That our language was not sufficiently bold, we agree; but

but it is much to be feared also, lest, by an unlimited freedom, it should be corrupted, and become degenerate. An infinite degree of taste and precision of judgment is requisite to sanction the adoption of a new word.*

VOL.

* All these observations are perfectly just; we only lament that Mr. Pagès seems to make no scruple of deviating from them. The subject of language is of light importance, weighed with the other objects of this work; but as the Author has touched upon it, we have thought it not undeserving of a place here. We cannot moreover refrain from remarking, that the French have done with respect to their language, what they have practised in their politics; that is to say, acted the part of unskilful artists; frequently destroyed, where they meant to improve, and constantly disfigured their work every where.

There is assuredly a certain *arbitrium loquendi* in language, not merely confined to accentuation of speech, which is the prerogative of genius, taste, and learning; but it ought only to be exercised by such as are in possession of those three qualifications; and even then should be used with great reserve and caution: the ratification of custom withal is necessary, in order to denizen the employ of a new word. The want of copiousness in the French language, although an imperfection, received, however, a valuable compensation in a classical purity and precision of expression. Its rhetorical precincts might have been allowed to be extended by the authority of a Voltaire, a d'Alembert, or some other great masters; and perhaps by some learned men of the present day;—but certainly not at the pleasure of every smatterer in literature, who chuses to consider himself the Quintilian of his country.

With respect to our own language; though much richness of expression results from foreign derivation; yet, if our modern English writers, following the example of our modern reformers in politics, should wish to adopt the innovating spirit of our neighbours, they will entirely vitiate the English tongue, in violation of the protection it has hitherto derived from the philosophical observations of a Harris, a Johnson, a Lowth; and in spite of those immortal masters of style, Swift, Addison, Pope, &c.

As for the French language, if the present system of innovation continue, it will approach fast to that condition, which will entitle it to no better an appellation, than that of a kind of *lingua Franca*.

A stand-

VOL. ii. p. 187.—In proportion as the dictatorial power of Robespierre became more firmly established, the blood of the citizens was shed with less reserve; and the sentences of death, as well as the lists of proscriptions, now needed no other sanction than his signature. Dumas, president of the revolutionary tribunal of Paris, Coffinhal, vice president, Fouquier Thiville, *accusateur general*; all those tigers with human face, were in the pay of Robespierre; and he might with truth call them his executioners; since they were less intent on

A standard of taste in writing is thus likely to be destroyed, through the privilege generally assumed by every individual, of settling his own criterion. If we take trouble to investigate the nature of language, we shall find that the mode of expression in every nation springs entirely from the turn of thought proper to that nation; consequently that we always speak best in our own language, because we speak more naturally in it. We may borrow, it is true, from the French some words, nay idioms, which are of peculiarly apt expression, and they may do the same from us. But, making an unlimited use of this privilege, will only tend to render both nations ridiculous in the sight of each other.—It is one of the infatuated refinements of the present times, not only to stuff our language with foreign idioms and words; but also to endeavour to obliterate altogether every pretension to national propriety in all the moral and physical relations of mankind.—National character even, is now styled an unphilosophical prejudice, not worthy a Cosmopolite. Thus do these pseudo-philosophers pervert every doctrine, nay disfigure philanthropy itself. Even religion is taken within the horrid scope of their bird-eye-view of things.—And Bonaparte, a worthy disciple of their accommodating persuasion, failed not in consequence to profess himself a Roman catholic at Rome, a Musselman at Grand Cairo; and would turn Protestant at London; and Atheist—wherever it should suit his interest.

filling

filling the office of judges, than on ministering to his hatred and vengeance. The president of that tribunal was used always to send to Robespierre a list of the victims who were brought to trial; and the tyrant prefixed to each name either the letter A, or C; the former of which implied *acquitted*, the latter *condemned*. It may easily be conceived, that the number of the acquitted was very small. In consequence of an apprehension lest the tribunals of the departments should be less inexorable, or, in other words, should not attain the same degree of ferocity, which at that time was termed revolution-pitch, all those persons, who were proscribed in any part of the republic, were finally transferred to Paris. From this measure the tyrant also derived a more vast and extensive degree of enjoyment; his sight being now gratified with an overflow of blood. It is a part of this history very degrading to humanity, which contains an account of the sittings of that infamous tribunal, termed revolutionary, but more properly deserving the appellation of counter-revolutionary; as no institution could be better calculated to attract detestation to the revolution. Time was scarcely given for writing the names of those who were accused; and such was the precipitation used, that one culprit was frequently slain through error, instead of another. In vain did the wretched victim exclaim, "you are mistaken; it is not I who am to be put to death."

"death."—"What matters it," was the answer, "whether your turn be to-day, or to-morrow?"

VOL. ii. p. 190.—Terror; punishments; destruction; ignorance; hunger; general nudity; such were the grand means of action made use of by the Decemvirs;—such were the levers of their power. It was with a view gradually to bring about his desired object of centering the supreme power in the hands of one person, that Robespierre persuaded the convention to throw aside a declaration of rights, very anarchical in its principles, and which had been manufactured in the short space of only a fortnight, and to substitute a *concentration of powers*, which received the name of *revolutionary government*. These words were manifestly of contradictory meaning; but of what is it not possible to persuade a numerous assembly?

VOL. ii. p. 191.—The convention* did not perceive that it was thereby forging its own chains, and creating a master that would enthral it: neither was it aware of the degree of boldness and indecency, which was attached to the act of accepting and solemnly swearing to

* In granting its sanction to the establishment of the *revolutionary government*.

maintain a constitution, in order to throw it aside at the end of a fortnight.

Under the name of revolutionary government, all the different powers became concentrated in the committee of public welfare; over which Robespierre long ruled with absolute controul. It was then that that committee, assuming dictatorial power, sent into the departments that multitude of ferocious pro-consuls, whom we have seen betraying, murdering the people, whose delegates they were, and to whom they owed their political existence; sometimes causing the guillotine to accompany them on their homicidal circuits, and sometimes declaring it to be in a state of permanence; or, in other words, proclaiming that the executioners were not to be allowed a moment's respite from action.

VOL. ii. p. 193.—Rome was oppressed with an almost uninterrupted succession of tyrants; but France has been infested at one and the same period with a crowd of Caligulas. The pencil even of a Tacitus would be inadequate to paint the crimes, which were the consequence of the monstrous union of the ferocious Robespierre with the sanguinary Couthon; of the barbarous Billaud with the fierce Amar; of the tiger Collot with Carrier, whose nature was equally savage; of the murderer Dumas with the assassin Coffinhal;—not to mention the collusion of a thousand other villains of subordinate degree. Mirabeau

beau foresaw, no doubt, a part of all those horrid events, when he said, "*that liberty rested only upon a bed of carcases.*"

VOL. ii. p. 194.—What a picture presents itself to our view! The tides of the ocean swelled by a number of mangled corpes, which murder committed to the secret depths of the Loire;—blood streaming in torrents through every town;—the dungeons of innumerable bastilles groaning under the weight of the victims with which they were loaded; the scarf of death overshadowing every family;—the threshold of every door discoloured with the stains of blood;—and, to fill up the measure of misery with insult, the word *humanity* engraved on every monument in conjunction with that of *death*;—such was the woeful aspect of France. On the front of every building were written these contradictory words, "liberty; fraternity; or death." The last of these words, alas! was the only one that was not devoid of meaning!

VOL. ii. p. 195.—Our hand being inadequate to the task of tracing in sufficiently strong lines that long concatenation of acts, equally horrid, infamous, and absurd, and of consequent events no less calamitous; we think it proper to insert here an extract from a description, as accurate as energetic, drawn by Mallet du Pan, whose

whose sophisms, notwithstanding, we are far from adopting on all occasions. He paints France fallen a prey to an infinite number of popular Neros, become objects of detestation in the sight of their former accomplices, and ready to murder any one among them, who should venture to stop short in the career of crime; boldly also offering insult to laws of their own promulgating; stopping every mouth with the charter of the rights of man; restraining the freedom of speech, the liberty of the press, and even of thought itself; breaking open letters, violating the sanctuary of dwellings; and finally, though rank Atheists at heart, yet loudly proclaiming a Deity. That body of Neros (the Jacobins) does not hold its existence in idea only; but it forms a real brotherhood of incendiaries and agents of insurrection. Systematically organized, the Jacobins have their catechism; have their colonels, their majors, their captains: the period of profession in their order is stated, as also the duration of the novitiate fixed. They have their appropriate language, their forms of correspondence, and affiliation; they have a costume, and a watch-word proper also to their order.

Revolution the Tenth.

Insurrections of the ninth of Thermidor, or End of the Decemvirate.

VOL. ii. p. 201.—Equality of ferociousness among the tyrants would have been a leading point necessary to their plan of destruction: but human nature admits not of equality, not even in the passion of cruelty; and the members of the two committees of government were more or less savage in their nature. Rivalry, envy, discovered themselves among those different monsters: one was more bent upon murder; another was less disposed to it. This one was possessed of impudence; that other had more timidity in his composition. A schism soon burst out between the leaders of the committee of public welfare, in consequence of a difference of opinion respecting the sacrifice of some particular victims. That schism split the Decemvirate into two parties, forming two Triumvirates, which struggled during the space of some days in order to supplant each other; on one
side

fide were Robespierre, Couthon, and Saint Just; on the other, Barrere, Collot d'Herbois, and Billaud Varenne,

VOL. ii. p. 204.—If the revolution has devoured by turns the different oppressors, who have succeeded one another on that slippery theatre, it has also, like Saturn in ancient fable, devoured its children and supporters,

IBID.—Robespierre, in the mean time, saw the storm gathering over his head.—He became more gloomy, more mistrustful, more thirsting after blood; the ghastliness of his approaching death appeared already in his fallow cheek; to use the fine expression of Courtois; and he talked only of murders, arrests, and punishments. Such is the fate of tyrants: he whom every one fears, ends by fearing all the world. He endeavoured to make a breach in the national representative body, by bringing to pass another day similar to that of the thirty-first of May; and it was that scheme of making a fresh attack upon the body at large, that divided the Decemvirs, and accelerated the destruction of a horde of savages, the very existence of whom posterity will have difficulty in conceiving. Since the epocha of the feast instituted by Atheists in honour of the Supreme Being, at which Robespierre, who aimed at uniting the patriarchal with the dictatorial character, in

declaring himself the leader of a sect, intoxicated his vanity with the vapour of incense, which he feigned to offer to the Divinity; he had given orders to the *accusateur public*, Fouquier Thinville, to select rather fewer victims from among the order of priests.

VOL. ii. p. 206.—The eighth of Thermidor arrived, and the execution of the plot laid for prosecuting a certain number of deputies, could now with difficulty be further delayed, as the assassins, split within themselves, were no longer able to restrain their animosity in presence of each other. One of the Decemvirs, Robespierre, no sooner appeared in the *tribune*, holding in his hand one of those homicidal reports, calculated to open the way to attacks upon the national representative body, than terror kept all the assembly silent; and the contest between the very tyrants themselves was on the point of commencing.

VOL. ii. p. 208.—It is impossible without shuddering to reflect on the danger to which Robespierre had exposed the public cause. The municipality of Paris, the commander in chief of the armed force, the tribunals, the public opinion itself;—every thing was influenced by the will of one man, who held in his hand the life and fate of the citizens. Lists of proscription were issued every morning from the closet
of

of that tyrant ; who preferred adopting the cold atrocity of Sylla, to giving a loose to the frantic passion of Catilina.

VOL. ii. p. 209.—The dagger exhibited by Tallien, with the intent of stabbing Robespierre, conveyed, as it were an electrical shock through the assembly. Hatred, suspicion, vengeance, which had till then remained concentrated at the bottom of every heart, were become keener for having been pent up ; and the conspirators ought in prudence to have mistrusted the effect of their explosion.*

VOL. ii. p. 218.—The conspirators were at length about to fall beneath the stroke of the conquerors. But no ;—that fate was yet too

* Robespierre ascended the *tribune*, and read a long discourse, in which, after vaunting, as was usual with him, his *virtue* ; and complaining of being calumniated ; he pointed out the enemies of the people, that is to say, his own. He then gave scope to a bitter censure of all the operations of government, which he exculpated himself from having born any share in for some time past. He declaimed successively against the committees of public welfare, general safety, and finances. His different charges were repelled with vehemence, and retorted on him by Tallien, Billaud Varenne, &c. ; and after a violent conflict between all the conspirators, Couthon, Lebas, Robespierre, the younger, Henriot, Dumas, president of the revolutionary tribunal, and others were arrested by virtue of a decree passed on the spot. The wrangling, abuse, and violence, which succeeded in the assembly, we have passed over, in order to proceed to the last scene in the house of the commune of Paris ; which will be found in the following Articles, 218, 220, 223 ; and in which justice, to a dramatic nicety, is dealt out to all the different persons in this abominable piece.

honourable for such wretches : the death which befits the flagitious, awaited them ; and they were destined to become themselves the instrument of encreasing the weight of their punishment, by making ineffectual efforts to put a period to their existence. Robespierre, who on the morning while the decree of impeachment was passing against him, holding a penknife in his hand, had seemed tossed in all the agitation of irresolute thought, nor had dared strike the blow, either through cowardice, or from a latent hope of yet being able to overcome, now discharged a pistol at his head, the ball of which only passed through the organ of speech ; as if for the purpose of chastising him in that part, the office of which he had so much abused. His brother, throwing himself from the summit of the *Commune*, drew upon him by his fall a load of sufferings, which the guillotine, a punishment too lenient for so great guilt, would have spared him. Saint Just surrendered like a coward : on seeing the situation of things becoming desperate, he said to Lebas, “ Terminate my existence for me I beseech you.” — “ Poltroon ! ” answered Lebas ; — and, after a short pause, adding, “ I have other things to do,” discharged a pistol through his own brain, which instantly ended him. Henriot, thrown headlong by Coffinhal from a lofty window, was found like Nero, in an obscure dirty place, where he besought in vain that
some

some charitable hand would put a period to his sufferings.

VOL. ii. p. 220.—All the conspirators were seized, and scarcely there remained one, who was not wounded, bruised, covered with gore, and otherwise disfigured, either by the work of his own hands, or through the effect of popular fury, directed against him. What an exemplary lesson! What a picture! Behold Robespierre, stretched upon a table in an outer-room of that committee, where but now he dictated laws! a deal box his pillow! wiping away with scraps of paper the sanies which collected round his bleeding mouth; and holding in his hand by one of those lufury effects of chance, which do not escape the observer's notice, the bag belonging to his pistols, on which the maker's address, at the sign of the "*Grand monarque*," seemed calculated to redouble the horror of his last moments.

VOL. ii. p. 223.—In the afternoon of the tenth of Thermidor, in the second year of the republic, which corresponds with the eighteenth of July 1794, all the conspirators were executed on that same spot, the "Square of the revolution," where they had caused so many innocent persons to perish. At the same time others, their accomplices, were put to death; among whom were the aid-de-camps of Henriot, and

the officers of his staff. The whole number of those, who were executed on that day, amounted to twenty-two. Thus fell to the ground that horrid structure! Thus ended the most dreadful course of tyranny, that ever imbrued the world in blood!

VOL. ii. p. 228.—The painter David was one of those, whom a congeniality of character bound in closest intimacy with Robespierre; and he claims a particular mention of him, among the different prodigies of ferocity of that time. It was he, who used to say, “If I de-
“light in blood, it is because nature formed
“me with that propensity.” He purposely became a spectator when Desmoulins and Danton, his colleagues and intimate friends, were led to the scaffold. On the second of September 1792, at the moment when the executioners were massacring the prisoners who were confined in the gaol of La Force, the deputy Reboul saw David tranquilly taking sketches of the expiring victims, as they were brought out and heaped upon the carcases of their dead companions. “What
“are you doing, Mr. David?” said he. “I am
“taking off,” replied the painter, “the last
“motions of lingering nature in those vil-
“lians.”

VOL. ii. p. 230.—The tragical end of nearly all the tyrants ought naturally to deter others
from

from pursuing a similar career. But what avail examples, against the thirst of grandeur and the intoxication of power? On the eleventh of the same month, Thermidor, seventy-one members of the conspiring *commune* fell beneath the axe of the law; and the revolutionary tribunal, that areopagus of executioners, finally is suspended in its functions.

VOL. ii. p. 232.—*Extract of a Report delivered by Courtois in the Name of the Commissioners appointed to examine the Papers found in the House of Robespierre:*

“ There is but one answer to be given to
 “ those incredulous persons, who cannot ven-
 “ ture to attach credit to the supposition of a
 “ conspiracy having been laid by Robespierre.
 “ In order to spare them the pain of suspense,
 “ as well as to set their conscience at rest,
 “ Robespierre took care to sketch out himself
 “ the plan of the plot; the first object of which
 “ was, to obtain money; the second, to address
 “ the departments; the third, to keep couriers
 “ constantly with the commissaries of the dif-
 “ ferent armies; the fourth, to form a federa-
 “ tion of the commune of Paris with Marseilles;
 “ the fifth, to arm the Sans Culottes, and keep
 “ them in pay; the sixth, to suspend every kind
 “ of works, till such time as the country should
 “ be restored to a state of safety; the seventh
 “ and

“ and last, to effect a change of local situation.
 “ This last expression establishes a good proof
 “ of the project of dissolving the convention ;
 “ and perfectly coincides with the avowal made
 “ by Lacoste in the rostrum of that assembly,
 “ on the very day, or the morrow of the fall of
 “ the tyrant, which imported, *that six months*
 “ *previous to that period, Robespierre had proposed*
 “ *to both of the committees the suspension of the*
 “ *sittings of the assembly.*”*

VOL. ii. p. 235.—[*Letter to Robespierre.*†]—
 “ You are now going to use all the vigilance

* This proposal made by Robespierre to the two committees is exactly conformable with the plan since practised by Bonaparte. Had Robespierre haply been bred at *l'Ecole Militaire*, instead of an attorney's office, and afterwards made arms his calling ; he might have had the military strength of the country at his disposal, and, like Bonaparte, not have confined himself to humbly proposing a measure, instead of enforcing it at the point of the bayonet. The views entertained by these two ambitious individuals are the same ; the circumstances in which they were placed only differ. Whenever, the sanguinary measures of the government of Robespierre shall appear to Bonaparte to be the only means of maintaining his power ; we shall probably see, or rather France will feel, that the *Consul* is but the *Decemvir regenerate*.

“ *Positis exuvii novus coluber.*”

† This letter is contained in the same report of Courtois, and is adduced by him in corroboration of the fact asserted, of Robespierre having concerted a plan of evasion with one of his trusty confidants. The letter, which appears to be responsive, is neither signed, nor dated ; nor yet contains the name of the place, whence it is written : among other matter in it, there is an entreaty “ that Robespierre would be perfectly easy as to the *article* which his adroitness had found the means of conveying, since the commencement of his alarm.”—This *article* is money.

“ required

" required by the imperious necessity of quitting
 " a theatre, where you must very soon appear,
 " and make your final exit. It is needless to
 " remind you of the reasons, which conduce
 " to a belief that you are exposed to danger:
 " for the last step, which has just placed you
 " on the seat of the presidency, approaches you
 " also to the scaffold; where you would see the
 " mob spit in your face, in the same manner it
 " did in the case of those, who died by your
 " sentence of condemnation. Egalité, other-
 " wise named Orleans, furnishes you a lively
 " example of the truth of this assertion. Thus,
 " since you have succeeded in amassing here
 " treasure sufficient to enable you to subsist for
 " a long time, as well as those persons, on
 " whose account I have received remittances
 " from you; I shall wait your arrival with
 " great impatience; in order that we may *laugh*
 " *together at the part you have played in the*
 " *troubles of a nation, as credulous, as it is eager*
 " *of novelties.*"

VOL. ii. p. 246.—It remains to insert here
 some important documents, concerning the
 events we have related. The first of these do-
 cuments affords the proof (which we engaged
 to produce,) that the Jacobins and most of the
 popular societies were accomplices, and even
 paid for their services, in executing the project
of putting to death all those who were rich;
 and

and of levelling, revolutionizing, Sansculottising the nation (to make use of their own barbarous idiom.) After the ninth of Thermidor, upon breaking up the seals, affixed to the registers of the mother society, were found the following articles :

Extract from the Register of the Society of Jacobins, Rue Honoré, twenty-fifth Brumaire, in the second Year of the Republic.

The committee of public welfare taking into consideration, that popular societies are necessary to the propagation of good principles, resolves ; that the sum of one hundred thousand livres be paid to such societies.—Signed in the register, Billaud Varenne, Robespierre, Carnot, Barrere, Robert Lindet.

Proofs of the Services rendered to the Republic, and to the Sans Culottes, by the Mother Society, under Authority from the Antient Committees of Public Welfare and General Safety :

The society of the friends of liberty, being desirous of proving their zeal for the public cause, proposes the following plan to the committees of the convention. Article first :
 “ When, through the machinations of opulent
 “ persons, troubles shall be excited in any of
 “ the communes ; the assembly shall instantly
 “ declare

“ declare them to be in a state of rebellion.”
Article second: “ The convention invites the
“ poor to profit of the occasion to make war
“ against the rich, and to establish order at any
“ cost whatever.”

Vol. ii. p. 277.—By what fatal destiny is it decreed, that the vessel of the revolution, already buffeted on every side, should be incessantly a prey to fresh storms? After the events of Germinal and Praireal;* after the disarming of the old *Terroristes*, and the suburb of Antoine, a district so liable to delusion; in short, at a moment when the scaffold of terror had been just thrown down, and the dictatorial

* The events alluded to were insurrections of several sections of Paris, headed by the remnant faction of Robespierre, which, under pretence of petitioning for the release of its associates, who had remained in prison since the ninth Thermidor; but in fact with the sole intent of dissolving and murdering the convention, advanced tumultuously into the assembly. These insurrections Mr. Pagès denominates Thermidorian reactions, because they took their rise in consequence of the proceedings of the convention on the ninth Thermidor. The detail of the riots is needless, as they are but a repetition in their nature of those we have seen so frequently:—The suburbs of Paris, particularly that of St. Antoine, marched into the convention, accompanied as usual by a legion of that Amazonian race of females, who have acted so constantly a part in the different tumults of the Metropolis and Versailles. The assembly on this occasion was upon the point of being butchered. Two presidents of the convention, Boissy d'Anglas and Vernier, were successively murdered in the chair of office. Several other assassinations took place at the same time. But at length twenty factious deputies were arrested, the whole suburb of St. Antoine was disarmed and forced to surrender their cannons; and finally, peace was restored once more to the distracted capital.

bastilles

bastilles as well as the den of Jacobins shut up, it might be expected that the historian of the revolution would no longer be condemned to the painful task of conducting his readers through a succession of storms and plots. And the more especially might this have been presumed, as the convention had ordered that those persons, who, by their sanguinary incitements to insurrection, as well as by a conduct in every respect partaking of the system of terror, had given convincing proofs that they were agents of tyranny, should be brought to trial. But human passions know no bounds except those of satiety; nor did the secret agitators of faction place any other to their criminal desires. France at this epocha was struggling against the royalist party, and the promoters of anarchy.*

VOL. ii, p. 280.—The year commences after midnight with the diurnal revolution of the sun, on the day of the autumnal equinox, calculated from the observatory of Paris. The year is divided into twelve months of thirty days each. At the end of those twelve months succeed five intercalary days, necessary to the

* This conflict, which became equally virulent with the others, on account of the different factions which took advantage of it to promote their respective objects, at the expence of violence and murder, terminated in favour of the convention, as well as those which preceded it.

completing of the ordinary annual cycle; which five days do not belong to any of the months: they were at first called Sansculottides; but by a decree of the month of Fructidor 1795, that ridiculous denomination was suppressed, and they received the appellation of *supplementary*.*

VOL. ii. p. 299.—The two greatest errors that can be imputed to the convention, are, doubtless, its having patiently endured the long and bloody sway of the Decemvirs, and its having adopted, subsequent to the ninth Thermidor, a too retrograde and almost counter-revolutionary course, in liberating indiscriminately all those who were under confinement; and in authorising the traffic in specie by allowing the bank, that endless source of jobbing, to be reopened. Truth also obliges the historian to

* We have not thought it necessary to give the whole of the discussion of Mr. Pagès on this subject. The adoption of the indiction alluded to, and the new order of the calendar, which, besides whim, has also another source, namely, the rejection of every allusion to the Christian æra, is perfectly consonant with the other irreligious and pragmatistical institutions of the French. Mr. Pagès seems to have endeavoured to introduce an innovation which should be less repugnant to the order of nature, by proposing that the commencement of the year should take date at the vernal, instead of the autumnal equinox; but his suggestion did not meet with a favourable reception; the convention being of opinion that the æra of the establishment of *La République Française* ought to regulate the indiction of the *world*. We must observe that if we have given place to the mention of the article of the new indiction, it is not because we think it deserving of serious argument, but merely from a wish that it should retain its rank among the wild phantasms of the distempered brain of the French nation.

confess

confess that Freron,* and some other deputies, at that time influenced the convention, in the same manner as Robespierre had done before them, and as Mirabeau had preponderated in the first constituent assembly. O how imbecile is the human species! how frequently do the proceedings of numerous assemblies excite the in-

* On the mention of Freron, we cannot avoid inserting here the following letter, written by him during his *proconsulate* in one of the departments; which Mr. Pagès has given the public in his work, vol. ii. p. 472. We subjoin also a short passage from Mr. Pagès's *History of the Revolution*, which immediately follows the letter, and relates to the administration of the same proconsul.

Letter dated the sixth of Nivose—second year of the republic.

“ Things go on well here; we have retained twelve thousand
“ masons from the adjacent departments, to demolish and rase the
“ city. We cause two hundred heads to be struck off daily since
“ our arrival here.”

Signed, Freron.

A proclamation was then issued, requiring all good citizens to repair to the *Field of Mars*, under pain of death for non-compliance. On their arrival they were forthwith mustered and shot. Such is the brief history of that fact.

In the report of Courtois, from which we have given extracts in the *Articles*, vol. ii. p. 232, 235, are contained convincing proofs of the diabolical inventions of cruelty, by which the proconsuls in the different departments effected murders and massacres; such as the vessels used by Carrier in la Vendée, called *gabares*; which by an opening, contrived in the keel, sunk suddenly with those on board. These *murders* received the appellation of *noyades*; those, invented by the same Carrier, and which he termed *republican marriages*, are of too shocking a nature to be related; we therefore pass them in silence, as well as various other species of cruelties, practised in the departments by the agents of the revolutionary government, invested with the power, and decorated with the name of Proconsuls.

dignation

dignation, and more often the pity of the philosopher! we have seen the people, we have seen the convention, soaring in that instance no higher than the level of the people, patiently endure the arbitrary government of a Marat, a Robespierre; nor endeavour to put a stop to the effusion of human blood. We have seen them tamely looking on, while a series of revolutionary crimes was taking place, at the description of which Tacitus himself, however used to pourtraying the court of Nero, would have felt his pen recoil. If Cæsar enslaved Rome and its senate, he was at least not unworthy of his triumph. But to stoop beneath the yoke of a Marat, to bleed by the poniard of a Robespierre, was the very height of infamy and weakness. We have beheld the people and the convention first paying divine honours to Marat and Mirabeau, and then treating them with every mark of ignominy and contempt. It must indeed be owned that the convention has never exhibited but the alternate triumph of one faction over another; and that its operations have oftener been the effect of passion, than the result of deep reflection, dictated by the love of the public welfare. And in this point of view it appears to be the effect of a singularly lucky turn of chance, that the struggles of so many contending factions should have hitherto terminated favourably for the people: but the reason of this may perhaps be found in

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the necessity, under which an opposite party lay, in order to overcome its adversary, of gaining the people on its side; which could only be effected by proposing to the body of the convention measures, which looked to the public good: for a numerous body of people, taken collectively, is generally under the impulse of upright motives; and its intentions are pure. The leaders of party alone are culpable for all the errors into which they insidiously lead the sheepish multitude.

VOL. ii. p. 303.—Holland, Switzerland, and North America waded through blood to the attainment of liberty. But the struggle in those cases was confined to two parties: the enemies and the partizans of the prince, from whose government those provinces revolted, constituted the only contending interest. Whereas with us, there exist a hundred different descriptions of malecontents, and consequently of persons, conspiring, both directly and indirectly, against their opponents. Factions have moreover arisen among the very parties that were the most cordial in the cause of the revolution; and to that source may be traced all those plots which have taken their turn in endless succession.

VOL. ii. p. 304.—Anarchy, which seldom fails of working its own destruction, is yet
 hover-

hovering over this vast empire. Never did such triumphant successes attend us abroad; never did so many dangers and calamities scourge us at home; this simultaneous contrast of fortune forms one of the most singular features of our revolution. We may truly say with the poet,

“Thy greatest foes, Rome, are within thyself.”

Immortal republic! what a harvest of glory and felicity will be thine, if thou canst but suppress discord within thyself, and make the port of safety, victorious over thy foes abroad, and thy enemies, still more formidable, at home! Must our pen be for ever dipped in the deadly waters of Phlegethon? And shall we never have other subjects to treat of, than the contention of all the furies, and the discord of the infernal regions? O when shall we be enabled to give solace to our readers, and to pour balm into our bosom, by drawing the consolatory picture of the general re-union of the minds, hearts, and will of our countrymen?

VOL. ii. p. 330.—It is owing to this,* that we have seen a people, by nature gentle, humane, and gifted with sensibility, converted into a nation of cannibals;—it is owing to this, that

* Alluding to an observation of Mr. Barthelemy in his *Anacharsis*, respecting the change which takes place in the character, manner, and principles, of a nation, in consequence of any great and general calamity or revolution.

justice and urbanity have disappeared from among us, to give place to notions destructive of all social order. The French have even carried their delusion so far as to persuade themselves that indigence and beggary were adequate substitutes for probity and patriotism; and that it was advisable to entrust the administration of affairs to those, whose necessities might expose them to the temptation of violating integrity; and in whom ignorance and deficiency of education constituted a total incapacity for public business. The infatuation of our countrymen, leading them to substitute erroneous and absurd notions to the sage maxims both of ancient and modern legislators, has directed their exertions to the overthrowing at once of every received institution, while it left them regardless of creating a new order of things. Sound policy on the contrary requires, that innovation should be admitted with caution, and its progress effected by slow gradation. Impressed with an idea that the arm of government, or rather the revolutionary torrent, would bear down all resistance, the French have pursued an extraordinary line of conduct, which has repeatedly put the public cause at stake, and finally so exhausted the country, that posterity will have difficulty in believing hereafter the debilitated condition, to which France was reduced. They have sought also to persuade us, that secrecy held no necessary place in government;

ment; that discipline might be dispensed with in the army, and that experience was not requisite in a general; that it was advisable to destroy commerce, in order to crush the consequence assumed by the merchant; that the people ought to be privy to every deliberation, and to be agents in every public transaction. Trained to these principles, the people, especially the inhabitants of the country, do not fail to propagate the doctrine of anarchy, and to throw off the restraint of law, as often as it thwarts the secret views of their private interest. Thus the labourer becomes the keenest enemy of the system of paper currency, and the most formidable partizan of a counter-revolution; for the reason that, being admitted to a share in the administration of affairs, he either over-rules, or entirely paralyzes the action of those among his colleagues, who happen not to be labourers like himself. In observing on this head, that neither liberty nor republican government can exist, without a perfect submission to the established laws, we are naturally led to take notice of a fine simile in the *Anacharsis* of Mr. Barthelemy. He compares the laws to a palm tree, which equally diffuses nourishment by its fruit to all those who rest beneath the shade of its boughs. May the acceptance of the constitution of 1795 enable us also to take rest under the tutelar shade of the laws; and realize at last the inebriating vision of all the benefits,

which a free people may enjoy without falling into anarchy! May the fresh troubles, which, accompanied with the most alarming symptoms, already begin to open on our view, and of which we shall shortly have to give an account, resemble only those roarings of the ocean, which continue after a storm, like the hoarse vibrations of its dying fury!

Revolution the Eleventh.

Acceptance of the Constitution of 1795.

VOL. II. p. 334.—The last moments of the existence of the national convention are at length arrived; and we have attained the period, so ardently desired by every good citizen, which brings with it the event of the acceptance of the constitution. Oh, twentieth of Fructidor! most solemn day, appointed for the ratification of the great act which is to proclaim the sovereignty of the people of France! happy con-

conciliating moment! when every envenomed passion ought to be laid aside; when all sentiments of vengeance ought to change their malignant nature; the hideous monster faction ought to be sacrificed at the altar of patriotism; the bonds of the most tender fraternity should be twined in closest union; and when we ought to present to the admiring world the awful and majestic example of a great people united by the gentlest feelings of sympathy under the sacred controul of law.*

* For the effusions of this tender fraternity this union of the gentlest feelings of sympathy, we refer our Readers to the account of the tumults, assassinations, &c. contained in the following Articles, under the head of the twelfth revolution, especially in the Article 343.

Revolution the Twelfth.

Thirteenth Vendemiaire.

VOL. ii. p. 341.—The convention in presenting the constitution of 1795 for the acceptance of the French nation, submitted also for its sanction the two famous decrees of the fifth and thirteenth Fructidor; according to which, the convention was to be renewed only to the extent of a third part of its number, at the ensuing election of members. Those decrees met with the most vehement opposition; particularly at Paris.

VOL. ii. p. 343.—The journalists since some time had openly recommended the dissolution of the convention; and some of them had even gone so far as to advise *its being murdered*. The most virulent writings against the assembly were hawked about the streets. The deluded sections, after proceeding to declare their sittings permanent, passed mandatory decrees, issued
pro-

proclamations of a contrary tendency to those of the convention, and constituted themselves in every point the rivals of the representatives of the people. These at length ordered the sections to close their sittings; and in the same decree enjoined the electors to adjourn their meeting, for the purpose of nominating the deputies of the new legislature, to the twentieth of Vendemiaire. The convention passed attainders against all such presidents and secretaries of the different assemblies, as should infringe that law. The electors persisted in contumaciously disobeying the decree; and it was not long before the concerted plot broke out with vigour. On the thirteenth Vendemiaire, [fourth year] the sections in revolt, and among the rest, those of Lepelletier, the French theatre, heretofore called the section of Marat or the Cordeliers, and La Butte des Moulins, ordered the drums to beat to arms; and a body of thirty thousand men, composed of both infantry and cavalry, marched against the convention. The committees of government, having acquired experience at the cost of so many fatal examples, were for this once prepared for the event: a camp had been pitched in the neighbourhood of Paris; to which precaution may be ascribed the salvation of the country. The troops of the sections were without cannons; all the field pieces, of which they were possessed, having been delivered up to the convention, as we have seen in
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the account of the preceding events, at the time of the disarming of the suburb of Antoine. The convention in this predicament made an address to the patriots of 1789; who without delay rallied round her. Many sections also, among others, that of the suburb of Antoine, that very district, which not long before had been disarmed by order of the convention herself, flocking to her assistance, offered their persons as a rampart to the representatives of the people against their assailants. The fatal hour was at length come, when Frenchmen were about to shed the blood of their countrymen.* The troops of the sections of La Butte des Moulins, and Lepelletier were the first who fired; the republicans returned fire; battle was given in three different parts of the town; and the greatest slaughter ensued on the quay of Voltaire, and in the *Rue Honoré*.†

VOL.

* Mr. Pagès here forgets himself—he mentions Frenchmen shedding their countrymen's blood as a circumstance of novelty;—what have they been doing ever since the year 1789, but cutting one another's throat; except when they were employed in cutting the throat of such of their neighbours as chose to suffer them to do it?

† The convention weathered also this storm; and, once more afloat, waits another squall.

The disputes and different arguments on the subject of the two decrees, which served as a pretext to this revolution, are much too tedious, as well as the detail of the sanguinary events too monotonous, to admit of their being placed in this work, which is already protracted to a greater length than was at first intended. By the above Article 343, it will suffice that the Reader be informed of the pre-

VOL. ii. p. 351.—We must draw a veil over that epocha;—an amnesty, a general and reciprocal oblivion must form a barrier against the approach of fresh troubles, the rise of new animosities, the repetition of acts of vengeance. We pant for peace, as the greatest of our wants; we stand yet more in need of it in our domestic than in our foreign relations: and by those conciliatory methods only are its blessings to be attained.

VOL. ii. p. 371.—On the fourth Brumaire the national convention, conformable to a decree of the thirtieth Vendemiaire, declared its session ended, &c. — — — — —

VOL. ii. p. 372.—The convention on the same fourth Brumaire, and immediately after it had declared its session terminated, constituted itself an elective body, under the presidency of the senior member. — — — — —

VOL. ii. p. 373.—If the legislative body do not seek to usurp the executive part of government; if ambition, intruding itself into the di-

pretences, which gave occasion to a repetition of the tumults and murderous excesses he has so often seen; and by the following Article 351, it will also suffice, if he be informed that the eruption of the volcano is over for the moment; and that we have the wishes of Mr. Pagès for security, that the combustible matter will lie quiet in the bowels of the *mountain*.

rectory,

rectory, do not interrupt that harmony, which ought to subsist between its members and the legislative body; if disunion do not slide in among the directors; if the majority of the two councils continue to be republican in its principles; if no attempt be made to extend the boundaries of the republic; and finally, if to conciliate the confidence, rather than excite the jealousy of surrounding nations, constitute the main object of policy;—there is no degree of prosperity and glory, at which the French nation may not arrive.*

VOL. ii. p. 380.—A new order of things now presents itself before us. From the ashes of expiring anarchy arises a just, firm, and stable government. The complexion of the executive directory indicates, that those who are at the helm of power, incapable of stooping to compound with faction, or enter into the petty politics of party, will confine their views to an equal and watchful circumspection towards them all, and to the general object of putting a stop to their contentions. It appears likely that the legislative body will long continue to

* In this catalogue of contingencies addressed to the faithful Jacobins, (who have it not in their nature to conform to any one of the conditions,) Mr. Pagès appears not to have foreseen the very important one of Bonaparte suddenly returning from Ægypt to throw down the whole fabric of directory, two councils, liberty, future prosperity, glory, &c.

be divided into two parties: we would gladly believe that both of them equally desire a republican form of government; and differ only in their opinion as to the means of establishing it. Fortunately for the public cause, the most perfect harmony seems to reign between the two councils, and the executive directory. It is to be hoped, that, in commencing the history of their labours, we shall have to describe only a just government, the ambition of which will be directed alone to healing the yet green wounds of the French nation, and to bringing about a peace; the want of which is universally felt: so that, to complete the singularity of our revolution, and to render it in every respect unlike that of any other people; anarchy, which almost invariably conduces to despotism, will, in our case, on the contrary, have proved a mean of procuring to us real liberty; that is to say, a good form of government, and equitable laws. We have found with Plato, that a state can neither be happy under arbitrary power, nor prosper in a condition of too great independence.

It has been seen that the convention, as soon as it had declared its session ended, formed itself into an elective body.* The members of the two councils were no sooner nominated, and their sanctions constituted, than the coun-

* Vide Article 372.

cil of five hundred hastened to the formation of the executive power. The citizens Rewbel, Laréveillère-Lépaux, Barras, Letourneur (de la Manche,) and Syeies were chosen directors; and, upon Syeies declining to accept the office, Carnot was appointed in his stead.

VOL. ii. p. 410.—The republican constitution of 1795 has not been the object of those emphatical demonstrations of adulation, which were lavished unthinkingly on that of 1791; neither has it been born into the middle of the legislative body by the keeper of the archives, escorted by a guard, and attended by a procession of twenty-four reverend old men; nor has it been led about in triumph like that of 1793, in an ark, which the event since proved to have been in a manner its sepulchral urn,—Less enthusiasm and more solid esteem are the better lot of the constitution of 1795.*

* The constitution of 1795 underwent also the pageant solemnities above described; as Mr. Pagès himself tells us in the second volume of his history, p. 387, viz: “The book, containing the constitution (of 1795), that holy ark of the rights of a great people, was born in pomp in a car, covered with a rich drapery fringed with gold, &c. May at length all these august solemnities, these lofty feasts, so unite the French nation, that it may form but a fasces, but one family, ever prepared to combat oppression!”

These pantomical farces, which Mr. Pagès terms august solemnities, are so ludicrous; that, knowing as we do, the irreverend manner in which the French look upon every thing appertaining to religious history, we should not be without harbouring a suspicion, that their meaning in all these shows, might be no other than a burlesque on the Mosaic institutions of the ark,

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Vol. ii. p. 428.—The labourer, too far emboldened in consequence of the revolution, and too much favoured by its operation (for the prosperity of an husbandman depends in a great measure on a certain mediocrity of circumstances) is become the mighty lord of the revolution; he has discovered, in its most hideous state of nudity, and under a form of greater ferocity, all the egotism, all the hardness of heart, and the cupidity, possessed by the wealthy part of mankind. The peasant has manifested more asperity of character, and shown himself to be more insolent, more unsociable, more truly arbitrary in his nature, than even the greatest enemy of the revolution could have hoped he would have done. The countryman would gladly enjoy all the advantages, resulting from the revolution, and leave the cities to sustain the burthens, attendant on it. The government of France will never succeed in obtaining the restoration of peace, and the enjoyment of plenty in the interior of the country, till the labourer shall be forced to obey the dictates of the law. Rousseau says, “that man is by nature good, “and that it is only men, linked together by “the bonds of society, that are wicked.” But the conduct of husbandmen and farmers would induce us, on the contrary, to believe, that man is born wicked, and discovers his depravity when his interest requires it; and that he is meliorated as soon as he enters into society.

We

We meet with more sensibility and humanity in the civilized fellowship of towns, than among the inhabitants of the plains, where man leads a more sequestered life, and consequently is in a state, more approaching to that of nature.

VOL. ii. p. 449.—As long as the dregs of the revolution shall continue to be stirred up; and motions shall be made in the assembly, tending to envenom the different factions, and to throw the balance of power on the side of the legislative part of government, our divisions and calamities will never cease. Our opinion on this head derives corroboration from the effect, seen to have been produced by the motion, made by Jourdan, and seconded by Isnard, tending to cause the appointment of a commission, charged with forming a report on the actual state of the troubles in the Southern Provinces; which motion has proved a firebrand of discord, thrown into the legislative body. The rage of party was in consequence re-kindled in the South; where, on one side the royalists were put in motion, and the homicidal Song of the *Reveil du Peuple*, again heard every where, became the signal, at which blood flowed afresh, and many commissaries or agents of the executive power were massacred in different *communes*: on another side, the opposite party, that is to say, the *Exaltés*, the *Exclusifs*, the
Anar-

Anarchistes,* redoubled their degree of ardour and acrimony.

VOL. ii. p. 454.—Such is the advantage of a good government, that it fetters the passions, and renders the fury of party impotent. The moment is doubtless not far distant, when the historian may stop his melancholy pen, and†—

Conspiracy of Babœuf, Drouet, and others.

VOL. ii. p. 460.—The details, which we are about to give of the conspiracy of Babœuf, Drouet, Ricords, Laignelot, and other of their accomplices, will expose to light all the depth and boldness of the actors in it. A committee of insurrection was appointed, for the purpose of directing the execution of the plot; and an

* *Exaltès, Exclusifs, Anarchistes*, (different species of the same genus, Jacobins,) are all defined by Mr. Pagès, in various parts of his work; but we cannot trouble our Reader by repeating their respective shades of distinction.

† We must here interrupt Mr. Pagès in his conjectures: he views the period of tranquillity in France through the strong lens of his imagination; whereas the faithful mirror of truth and rueful experience shows it to be even at this day farther removed than ever.

insidious proclamation, addressed to the people, was to be the signal for murdering the legislative body, and all the constituted powers of government. The re-establishment of the anarchical constitution of 1793 furnished the specious pretext for rising; and now, as in Vendemiaire, it was under the disguise of freedom, that liberty was about to be destroyed; and in the name of the sovereignty of the people, that the people were on the verge of being more enslaved. The short space of half an hour was the time allowed for giving the blow; and the police itself, according to the concerted plan, was to become the involuntary medium of signal for attack, by means of a bell, which is rung in every section at a stated time of day for the purpose of directing the streets to be swept. At the sound of that bell, the conspirators, forming themselves into small parties, were to enter certain houses; and at one and the same moment to stab such representatives of the people, as well as magistrates, as were specified in a list which was delivered to them. That massacre being effected, those small parties were to meet at a rallying point agreed on, in order to march in a formidable body against the directory; whose whole force of defence at that time would have consisted of the usual guard, assigned to it by the constitution, strengthened perhaps at most by a battalion of infantry, and a small body of horse. It is asserted that the

conspi-

conspirators had even taken measures for possessing themselves of a certain number of cannons, so as to arrive at the Luxembourg, the palace of the directory, strengthened by a train of artillery. About one thousand five hundred deserters, either from the legion of the police of Paris, or from other corps, quartered at the houses of confederates, who, being all either Jacobins, or members of the revolutionary committees, had habited their new inmates in plain clothes; a multitude of persons of divers departments, who had been included in the late amnesty, and the broken remnant of the revolutionary army, were to form the main body of that infernal host; whose whole views were centered solely in the plundering of Paris, as the object and recompense of their exertions. An order fell into the hands of those, whose destruction was thus planned, signed Drouet, and addressed to the storekeeper of the powder magazine, requiring him to deliver cartridges and other articles of ammunition to the commander in chief of the army of the people; which commander we may presume to have been no other than general Rossignol, whose bad manœuvres in the Vendean war were brought in charge against him by the valiant, but unfortunate, Philippeaux. Drouet and his accomplices have been since brought before the high national court of judicature, where proceedings are now carrying on, in order to the

cause being heard. The genius of France and of liberty prevailed in rendering abortive this conspiracy; the explosion of which, according to the concerted plan, was to have taken place on the nineteenth of Floreal (in the fourth year).—Immortal glory to him, by name Grisel, who disclosed the latent mischief to the minister of police!

Conspiracy of Fructidor.

VOL. ii. p. 465.—We shall not dwell long on the conspiracy of the twenty-fourth Fructidor (fourth year;) which may be considered only as a consequence of that of Babœuf. In the night between the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth Fructidor, a body of about five hundred men, armed with pistols and sabres, issuing from divers public houses, formed themselves into several corps, and marched towards the camp of Grenelles, near Paris, exclaiming, “The constitution of 1793 for ever!—Death to the tyrants!—Death to the directory and two councils! The centinels, on hearing those vociferations, stood upon the defensive, and returned by musquet shot the attacks of their assailants; who had already wounded many of the soldiers, in

in endeavouring to force their passage into the camp. Both infantry and cavalry were now roused; and, issuing in their shirts from the tents, rushed upon the conspirators, with that courage, which has ever formed their characteristic. They forced numbers of them to gnaw the ground, and took forty prisoners. The camp obtained great honour on this occasion, in thus averting the effect of a conspiracy, formed by persons of the most infamous description of beings;—abettors of anarchy, and men living by plunder and murder; whose mode of reasoning with themselves was thus: “What matters it to us whether general destruction take place or not? we know ourselves to be guilty of enormous crimes; and our best chance of escaping condign punishment is in overthrowing all order, and in laying every thing waste by fire and sword.” The miscarriage of this execrable conspiracy was the effect of a struggle of only twenty minutes duration.

VOL. ii. p. 508.—The Reader will no doubt bear in his mind the numerous *revolutions*, which are comprised within our *revolution*; and which constitute so many distinct and leading epochas in it. We have had the revolution of the fourteenth of July; that of the fifth and sixth of October; that of the acceptance of the constitution of 1791; that of the tenth of August;

August; that of the proclamation of the republic, or the abolition of monarchy; that of the murder of the king; that of the thirty-first of May, the epocha of the Decemvirate; that of the constitution of 1793; that of the revolutionary government, which immediately succeeded it; that of the ninth of Thermidor; that of the constitution of 1795; that of the decrees of the fifth and thirteenth Fructidor.

So far extends the enumeration made by Mr. Pagès of revolutions, counter-revolutions, insurrections, conspiracies, assassinations, murders, massacres, usurpations, tyranny.—What an Appendix to the dreadful catalogue is Bonaparte preparing!



F I N I S.

Errata.

- Page 73, line 10, (note) after *power* place a comma.
 — — — 12, (note) after *chief consul*, place a semicolon.
 — 92, — 3, (note) for *if we take trouble*, read *if we take the trouble*.
 — 101, — 8, (note) for *finances*, read *finance*.
 — 111, — 12, (note) for *republique Francois*, read *republique Francoise*.

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